FBIS DAILY REPORT

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BTA SUMMARIZES ZHIVKOV PLAN FULFILLMENT REPORT

AU060903 Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA) -- A report by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, presented at yesterday's national session on the fulfillment of the decisions of the BCP CC December Plenum and the plan for 1987, was handed in for publication.

The report examines the fulfillment of the tasks and sets the new ones related to the fulfillment of the strategic policy on achieving a qualitatively new growth of the economy and the other spheres adopted by the 13th BCP Congress. It analyses the application of the documents approved by the BCP CC December Plenum which serve as an organizational basis for the deep restructuring process that is under way in this country.

Mr Todor Zhivkov believes that the restructuring policy has become necessary as a result of the country's greater economic and intellectual potential, the new realities at home and abroad, the requirements placed before Bulgaria within the framework of the socialist economic and techno-scientific integration and the international division of labor.

The Bulgarian party and state leader dwells in detail on the creation of a whole complex of conditions (economic, social and intellectual) for promoting the realization of society's creative potential and the practical implementation of the policy of uniting techno-scientific progress with the requirements of the objectively existing social laws, the development of the socialist democracy and its core, socialist self-management.

As far as the economy is concerned, this would mean a simultaneous restructuring of the base and the superstructure. In attaining this goal, the country has established economic associations of a new type within 8 production complexes and has made clear the founding principles of the enterprises as basic self-managing economic units with collective self-managing bodies. Corresponding changes are under way in planning and the financial levers for the management in the economy and in labor relations has been started with the coming into effect of the new labor code and the regulations for economic activity.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF IRAQI DEPUTY PREMIER RAMADAN

AU051618 Sofia BTA in English 1532 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA) -- Mr Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of Iraq, arrived here on an official friendly visit.

He was welcomed by Mr Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the BCP CC and chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is also his official host, and by other high-ranking officials.

Begins Talks With Atanasov

AU052127 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Excerpts] Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of Iraq, arrived on an official friendly visit to Bulgaria today at the invitation of Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

Taha Yasin Ramadan visited Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, in the Boyana Residence. They exchanged ideas on bilateral cooperation and examined certain topical issues of the current international situation.

Tomorrow the dialogue between Comrade Georgi Atanasov and Taha Yasin Ramadan will continue.

ZHIVKOV GREETS AL-QADHDHAFI ON ANNIVERSARY

AU052157 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Mar 87 p 1

[Text] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov has sent a telegram to Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of Libya's 1 September Revolution. In his telegram he conveys his most cordial and sincere greetings on the 10th anniversary of the declaration of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

The cable expresses confidence that the traditional relations of friendship and comprehensive fruitful cooperation will continue to develop and strengthen in the future in the interest of the two countries and the struggle to preserve world peace and oppose imperialism, Zionism, racism, and neocolonialism.

BCP CONGRATULATES SWISS LABOR PARTY LEADER

AU052151 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Mar 87 p 1

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following telegram to Jean Spielman, general secretary of the Swiss Labor Party:

Dear Comrade Spielman, we hope you will accept our most sincere, fraternal congratulations on the occasion of your election as general secretary of the Swiss Labor Party.

We wish you success in your work, involving great responsibility, at the head of the Swiss Labor Party in defending the vital interests of working people in your country, for intensifying the struggle to prevent thermonuclear disaster, and for ensuring peace throughout the world.

We declare our confidence in the further development of friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the Swiss Labor Party for the sake of peace and social progress, in the interest of friendship between our two peoples.

DOYNOV LEAVES ON 'SHORT' VISIT TO INDIA

AU052053 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Ognyan Doynov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Economic Council, has left on a short working visit to India. In the course of his trip he will have meetings and talks on expanding cooperation between the two states.

Comrade Ognyan Doynov will later take part in the work of the regular session of the mixed Bulgarian-Vietnamese Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, which will be held in Hanoi.

KUBADINSKI-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM LIBYA

AU052150 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Mar 87 p 8

[Text] The Bulgarian party and government delegation headed by Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, returned from Libya yesterday. The delegation participated in the celebrations held on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

ZHIVKOV, LEADERS ATTEND CEREMONY FOR ACADEMICIAN

AU051923 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Excerpts] A festive meeting was held this evening to mark the 90th birthday of Academician Sava Ganovski, eminent philosopher, psychologist and teacher, consistent Marxist-Leninist, and supporter of peace. Party and state leaders led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov came to the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the BCP Building. Also present were leaders of creative and public organizations, scientific workers, philosophers, pedagogues, and students of our great scientist.

Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council, read the decree awarding the Georgi Dimitrov Order to Sava Ganovski, who was handed the decoration by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Comrade Georgi Yordanov delivered a speech on the life and activity of the great scientist. [passage omitted]

Comrade Yordan Yotov read out the letter of congratulation to Sava Ganovski from Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Many greetings were delivered.

BRIEFS

BELGIAN JOINT ENTERPRISE -- Sofia, February 12 (BTA) -- The Belgian company Perlis-Lambert and the Bulgarian "Koopizkupuvane" subsidiary of the Central Cooperative Union have signed an agreement on the establishment of a joint plan in Lom. The Belgian firm will provide a modern technology and equipment for the production of juice, dyes and aromatizers from fruits and vegetables using enzyme reactions. The plan will be built in three stages. The first shop, which is currently under construction, will be commissioned in September. The factory will have its own laboratory for monitoring the quality of the output. The first workshop will be processing about 11,000 tons of raw materials a year. It will be producing concentrates of strawberries, raspberries, sour cherries, grapes, apples, carrots and red beet. All production processes will be fully automated and the plant will be working in a continuous three-shift mode. There will be only about a dozen workers in each shift. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1156 GMT 12 Feb 87 AU]

NATION PLANS FOR LARGE DISSIDENT TRIAL

AU051531 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 2 Mar 87 p 2

[Report by D.V.: "On the Eve of Another Monster Trial in the CSSR: Prague Intensifies Persecution of Dissidents"]

[Text] Vienna/Prague -- The biggest trial of dissidents in the CSSR since 1979 is expected soon. According to some civil rights fighters in Prague, seven members of the "Jazz section" are to go on trial on 10 March for unauthorized "entrepreneurial activities" and "disseminating illegal publications." All seven defendants were arrested in September 1986 and two of them are still in custody pending investigations, while the other five were released from jail earlier this year.

The late-January arrest of 26-year-old Charter 77 activist Petr Pospichal in Brno has also shown that the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna has not restrained the CSSR Security forces from stepping up their activities against civil rights struggles lately: In the indictment, which was drawn up in a mere 14 days, Pospichal is charged with "subversive activities" (Section 98).

Since Pospicha is threatened with up to 10 years imprisonment, friends have formed a solidarity committee which includes, among other, the writers Vaclav Havel and Ludvic Vaculik, as well as former foreign minister Jiri Hajek. Some Brno citizens have begun a hunger strike in protest against Pospichal's arrest.

In connection with the forthcoming trial of Pospichal, the Prague couple Anna Sabatova and Petr Uhl, publishers of the unofficial monthly bulletin "Charter 77 Information," have released a statement in which Section 98 of the CSSR penal code is described as a violation of Article 19 of the UN agreement on civic and political rights. This is due to the fact taht any citizen making a critical remark is threatened with punishment as a so-called diversionist, as well as betwwn 3 and 10 years in jail.

The 55-year-old Evangelical parson and Charter activist Jan Dus has been charged with no less than five "political offenses." According to the indictment Dus has damaged state interests abroad to a particularly high degree and allegedly in collusion with others. He has attacked state organizations and has attempted to overthrow the republic. A report from the unofficial Prague "Committee for the Defense of Wrongly Persecuted People," however, states that since 1978 Dus has time and again assisted fellow citizens who were harassed by state officials and has intervened in their favor.

The CSSR authorities have also quietly jailed the lesser known Charter activist, Ervin Motl. The former journalist, who finally had to work as a firefighter, was arested together with two colleagues last year and in November was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment for "subversive activities." Even though witnesses had complained about force and blackmail employed by the investigating authorities during the trial and had withdrawn their statements for this reason, the court did not take this into consideration.

Motl and his "accomplices," who got off with suspended sentences, were convicted because they had criticized the leading role of the communist party and the USSR, and because they had publicly listened to Western radio programs on "Radio Free Europe" and the "Voice of America."

PAPER PRAISES GORBACHEV'S DISARMAMENT INITIATIVE

AU041143 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Mar 87 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar article in the "Word On Events" column: "Indulging in Tactics With Many 'Ifs' and 'Buts'"]

[Text] The statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, containing the new Soviet proposal on excluding the problem of intermediate-range missiles in Europe from the package of issues and on concluding a separate agreement on this, has taken the Western North Atlantic alliance by surprise. Namely, it has knocked from its hand one of the main arguments that the issue of eliminating intermediate-range missiles should not continue to be tied up in the package of proposals submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev at the Reykjavik meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan, but rather one has to strive for a separate agreement.

Gorbachev's statement has reaffirmed the Soviet Union's sincere interest in nuclear disarmament and the Soviet Union has gone far -- more than halfway -- to meet the demands of the West. From this it should logically follow that the Governments of the United States and the West European powers would welcome the Soviet initiative with satisfaction and without hesitation; however, this has not yet happened. On the contrary, there are signs that the West is returning to its evasive and conditional [podmienovane] answers. The French Government has even opposed the "denuclearization of Western Europe in view of the imbalance in conventional and chemical armaments."

The Soviet Union has unconditionally submitted its proposal to eliminate the American and Soviet intermediate-range missiles from Europe without mentioning French and British nuclear weapons. Could it be that the French Government has rejected the proposal because its nuclear potential would become untenable if such an agreement should materialize? In any case, this rejection does no good to Europe since it will encourage further West European officials who dare not reject nuclear disarmament in public, because this is unpopular, but who are also against it. What panic seized West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and British Premier Margaret Thatcher when they were informed Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev in Reykjavik had actually agreed on the zero option of nuclear weapons in Europe, and only the intransigence of the American President in the issue of the space arms buildup prevented it! They immediately came forward with arguments about the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional weapons, although the socialist countries also proposed balanced disarmament on this issue.

Right from the beginning the West's stance on the issue of intermediate-range missiles in Europe has been conflicting, contradictory, and hypocritical. In November 1981 President Reagan said the United States is willing to abandon the deployment of Pershing-2 missiles and cruise missiles if the Soviet Union withdraws its SS-20 missiles. Bonn, London, Rome, Paris, and Brussels rejoiced over the "peace-loving nature" of the American President. Politicians from these capitals thought an effective formula against the steadily growing peace movement in Western Europe had finally been found.

In January 1986 Mikhail Gorbachev, within a gradual plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons, proposed the removal of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles from Europe, a month later the daily FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG wrote: "The zero option is in essence a nonsensical project, which would be of importance only if the Soviet Union were to continue to reject it." This is an attitude which exposes the hypocritical nature of the West's policy regarding the approach toward security and disarmament issues.

With regard to conventional weapons, the London-based Institute For International Strategic Studies last year published the following view: "The parity between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in conventional weapons is obvious to the extent that neither side has at its disposal the strength which, in case of conflict, would guarantee its victory." What, then, are the real reasons for NATO's behaving like a wicked stepmother toward its own child, the zero option, and making it contingent upon many "ifs" and "buts"? Washington has never been interested in parity with the Soviet Union, but the zero option marked the beginning of the obfuscating maneuver which had to cover up its true intentions.

When the fate of mankind is at stake, politicians cannot act like stockbrokers: The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have submitted serious proposals for reducing forces in practically every military category and for limiting the arms buildup on the basis of equality and equal security. What they propose to their counterparts would also be binding on them. You cannot expect anyone to willingly place himself at a disadvantage. The Soviet Union is proceeding with the utmost seriousness; its latest proposals convincingly attest to this. If the West does not see it, then what the West German magazine STERN wrote in its editorial is surely valid: "The Soviet proposals are clear, but we have biased people in our government. Even in the Soviet union were to begin tossing its weapons into the sea tomorrow, they would regard it as a suspect communist plot."

CPSU'S ZAYKOV CONTINUES, CONCLUDES VISIT

Talks With Husak, Others

LD051649 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, received at Prague Castle today Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the close of his working visit to Czechoslovakia. Comrades Milos Jakes, Josef Haman and other representatives were present at the reception.

In a cordial comradely conversation they evaluated some questions of mutual coopereation between the two fraternal parties and countries, and they exchanged experiences from the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress. Lev Zaykov informed Gustav Husak about the conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January plenum of the party's Central Committee, and he stressed that the CPCZ makes full use of these ideas and proposals for formulating the conclusions of the 17th party congress.

The two representatives agreed that mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union have reached a high level and create a good point of departure for further all-round and dynamic development of contacts and cooperation in all spheres. Their basis is formed by joint action between two fraternal parties based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism marked by unity of views. Gustav Husak and Lev Zaykov stressed the importance of working meetings between representatives of the two fraternal parties which enable specific and factual exchange of experiences from all areas of party work and aid mutual enrichment of findings from the building of socialism. They stressed that a fruitful exchange of views and experiences is of exceptional significance, in particular at present when both countries are realizing a course aimed at speeding up the social economic development of society. It also aids deeper understanding of problems of the present development of socialism and provides incentives for a qualitatively new stage of mutual cooperation and socialist integration which should considerably help to realize the whole creative potential of socialism and to strengthen its status in the world.

Visits Station, Hospital Site

LD052236 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 5 Feb 87

[Text] On the final day of his visit to Czechoslovakia, Comrade Lev Zaykov made a tour of Prague. At the Moskevska Station, which is an exmaple of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation, he was briefed about further plans for the construction of the metro up to the year 2000. Lev Zaykov showed particular interest in the new technology and the efficient and modern equipment.

Comrade Zaykov then paid a visit to the construction site of the new hospital in Prague-5 Motol district. Here, too, he showed interest in the progressive technology of the so-called monolith structure which uses special construction forms being used for the first time on such a wide scale in Czechoslovakia.

Leaves for Moscow

LD052010 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Comrade Lev Zaykov ended his working visit to Czechoslovakia this afternoon and left by air for home. He was seen off at Prague's Ruzyne Airport by Comrades Milos Jakes, Josef Haman, and other Czechoslovak officials, along with representatives of the Soviet Embassy.

HUNGARIAN PPF DELEGATION VISITS BRATISLAVA

AU050936 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Mar 87 p 1

[CTK report: "Cooperation Between the CSSR National Front and the PPF of the Hungarian People's Republic]

[Text] Bratislava (CTK) — A delegation of the PPF National Council of the Hungarian People's Republic led by Imre Pozsgay, general secretary of the PPF National Council, paid a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia yesterday. In Bratislava, the guests conducted talks with Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front; Daniel Futej, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak SR; and other officials. The comradely discussion primarily concerned bilateral relations and coordinating international activities between the two countries' national fronts. The meeting was attended by Bela Kovacs, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the CSSR. Imre Pozsgay, the head of the Hungarian delegation, was received at the close of his visit by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak SR. He was accompanied by Tomas Travnicek and Daniel Futej. The reception was also attended by Jan Sveda, head of a CPSL Central Committee department. During the cordial talk, the topical task to use the National Front political system to activiate efforts by the broadest possible sectors of population and youth to preserve world peace and accelerate the socioeconomic development of the two countries was stressed.

CUBAN INTERIOR MINISTER ENDS VISIT 5 MARCH

LD051623 Prague CTK in English 1538 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Prague March 5 (CTK) -- A delegation of the Cuban Interior Ministry, headed by Minister Jose Abrantes Fernandez, ended its visit to Czechoslovakia today.

In the course of the visit which took place of the invitation of Czechoslovak Interior Minister Vratislav Vajnar, the Cuban delegation held talks on the development of cooperation and assistance between the security bodies of Cuba and Czechoslovakia.

The two sides voiced the determination to fully support the internationalist ties of the socialist countries as well as the unity of all progressive and peace-loving forces in the struggle for the preservation of peace and in the interest of creating a reliable system of international security.

THAI DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR WORKING VISIT

Phongphanit Meets Potac

LD051925 Prague CTK in English 1813 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Prague, March 5 (CTK) -- Svatopluk Potac, Czechoslovak deputy premier and State planning Commission chairman, received here Thursday Montri Phongphanit, minister of commerce of Thailand, head of a Thai trade delegation, currently on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

The Thai and Czechoslovak representatives reviewed the results of the countries' economic and trade relations, and discussed also concrete possibilities of the deepening and expansion of bilateral relations in the future.

Talks with Urban

LD051735 Prague CTK in English 1638 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Prague March 5 (CTK) -- Thai Commerce Minister Montri Phongphanit, who heads a Thai delegation in Czechoslovakia, was received here today by Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Bohumil Urban.

They discussed the possibilities of extending trade exchange and economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Thailand. Czechoslovakia is interested in increasing exports of engineering products, and Thailand in greater sales of agricultural products, mainly rice and tropical fruit.

The extension of cooperation was also discussed by representatives of the Chambers of Commerce of the two countries.

TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS HOLD CONGRESSES

AU031127 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 2 March on pages 1 and 2 carries a 2,000-word round-up of CTK reports on congresses of individual trade union federations that were held in various parts of the Republic on 27 - 28 February or 28 February - 1 March.

The Fourth Congress of the Trade Union Federation of Mining and Power Industry Workers, the round-up says, was held in Most in North Bohemia and was attended by a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, and the CSSR Government led by Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Addressing the congress on 28 February, Josef Haman reportedly praised the reliable supplies of fuels and power this winter and spoke about restructuring the economic mechansim. In this connection "Josef Haman emphasized the underlying principles of this restructuring. He stressed that restructuring in the fuel-power complex will have its specific features. Nonetheless, it is imperative in this sector also to reinforce the principles of economic accountability [chozrascotne principy] and to deepen working people's participation in management. This work will have to be organized with the trade unionists' active participation. At the same time it will be necessary to work out questions concerning the forms and methods of the trade union organizations' work under the new conditions. Their mission will be to even more encourage, organize, and channel the working people's initiative and socialist competition without formalism and unnecessary administration and reports. It is essential that they do even more to promote discipline and order at the places of work, to enforce fair remuneration, to resist egalitarianism, to raise the standard and safety of labor, and to wage a more effective struggle against accidents." In the remaining parts of his speech Josef Haman reportedly pointed to the need to think not only in terms of tons, kilowatt hours, and cubic meters, but to pay equal attention to cost-effectiveness and overall efficiency, and discussed the need to work out "questions connected with the role and position of work collectives and their participation in the control and management of socioeconomic development under the conditions of self-financing and independence." According to Haman, the important thing will be to make the work collectives understand that "the reinforcement and promotion of socialist democracy connected with restructuring means a combination of democracy and discipline, of independence and responsibility, and of rights and duties."

According to the report, the congress elected Vladimir Polednik, Hero of Socialist Labor, as chairman of the Trade Union Federation of Mining and Power Industry Workers.

The Congress of the Trade Union Federation of Education and Science Employees, which was held in Prague, was attended by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The 302 delegates who represented the more than 500,000 members of the federation elected Drahomira Hanzalova as its chairman.

The Fourth Congress of the Trade Union Federation of Workers in Construction and in the Production of Construction Materials was held in Gottwaldov and attended by CSSR Deptuy Premier Ladislav Gerle. The delegates, who represented the more than 700,000 members of the federation, elected Jaromir Kollmann as its chairman.

The Congress of the Trade Union Federation of Workers in the Chemical, Paper, Glass, and Printing Industries, which was held in Usti nad Labem, was attended by 250 delegates who represented the almost 340,000 members of the federation. They elected Ladislav Sanovsky as the federation's new chairman. The party, national front, and government delegation at the congress was led by CSSR deputy Premier Pavel Hrivnak.

The Congress of the Trade Union Federation of Czechoslovak People's Army Employees, which was held in Vyskov and attended by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, elected Vladimir Chrastil as its chairman.

The reports on the remaining congresses that were held on 27 - 28 February mention that Eva Usakova was elected chairman of the Trade Union Federation of Food Industry Workers; Ladislav Baraninec chairman of the Trade Union Federation of Timber Industry, Forestry, and Water Management Workers; and Darja Zacherova chairman of the Trade Union Federation of Trade Employees. All these congresses were held in Prague.

RUDE PRAVO EDITORIAL ADDRESSES 'OPENNESS'

AU041344 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Feb 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Open Policy"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] No one can claim that the critical words the 17th CPCZ Congress addressed to the ranks of our society were not addressed to him. However, it is quite possible that there are people who assume it was enough to express their verbal agreement with the congress, that the specific tasks arising from the congress will soon be forgotten and no one will call them to account. This is the only possible explanation for the little done in the year since the congress with respect to many of the issues that have become ripe for solution.

It is evident these issues are being attentively followed in the party and in society, above all everything concerning the development of democracy, increasing the supply of information to the public, calling people to account, and the effectiveness of control. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has issued instructions to work cut a number of suggestions aimed at deepening democratic principles in the political, economic and other fields, developing socialist self-management, and promoting the party's leading role. The fundamental purpose of these measures, taken upon the party's initiative and under its leadership, is to unfold the creative energy, activity, and initiative of the people, crucial prerequisites for further strengthening socialist society and its dynamic development. These efforts met with a positive response in the party and society, and enjoy their full support.

The government is now actively working out the principles for restructuring the economic mechanism. At its session on Thursday the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the timetable of this work, which is of great importance for the further development of society. It declared in favor of expanding the economic experiments that have been launched to test the enterprises' greater autonomy and responsibility, not only in industry but also in the building transportation, trade, and services sectors. It also reached a decision on working out a draft bill on socialist enterprises, and on amending the economic labor, and other pertinent codes.

However, we would be doing little if we just assumed a wait-and-see position, waiting for the relevant laws or other documets to be adopted. Let us strive to improve all aspects of our society on the march, let us make use of all opportunities current social practice offers us. Democracy is not just a secret ballot. It is a wide-ranging set of relations between people, between man and institutions; it is the supervisor's attitude to his subordinates, and the like. It also means being candid with the people, consulting them, informing them, charging them with assignments, openly discussing all problems with them, reacting to their remarks, preventing anyone from being exempt from criticism or control, and making it possible for any subordinate to express his ideas without fear, even if these differ from the ideas of his superior. These requirements have not suddenly fallen from the skies, as it were; they are not new. They are, and to be more precise they should be the natural norm. [passage omitted]

There are many questions that must be pondered "at the top" as well as "down below;" for example, the reason why some meetings, starting with party meetings, take place according to a rigid pattern. Why some agencies require participants in the discussion to hand in their contributions in writing in advance, and why they "edit" them on the pretext of some sort of coordination. Why we have forgotten how to debate without holding a piece of paper in our hands. Why interpellations (ad hoc questions) have disappeared from meetings of authoritative assemblies. Why models of building projects or monuments that will serve the broad public for many years are not presented to the public for discussion. And so on.

To take a sample from a different barrel, there are national committees that are in constant, day-to-day contact with citizens, and those which organize their plenary meetings with many citizens attending. But there are also other national committees that do not rack their brains over the presence of citizens when problems concerning their lives are discussed. What prevents them from making their policy absolutely public and open? Let us say it bluntly: comfort-seeking and formalism.

What is the good of the great legal powers of national committees if they are fettered by decrees? Similarly, there are also some decrees that curtail cooperative democracy. How many formal meetings of all kinds of organizations, including trade union and party organizations, are there still at which a great deal is said but little gets done? [passage omitted]

Life in our society calls for the all-round implementation of democracy in practical life, in accordance with the tenets of socialism.

The principles of openness [verejna informovanost] are increasingly gaining ground in our citizens' awareness. What is meant by this openness? It means that our citizens are entitled to be fully informed about everything that happens at home and abroad, that they have the right to know what happened in the wake of criticism, that they have the right to express their view on problems and to come up with ideas and comments.

But openness does not concern only what appears in the press, on the radio, or on television. It concerns the entire society, the activity of every party, state, or other agency or organization, which are rightly expected to consult citizens, to brief them on their steps and intentions, to give account of their activities, to provide candid information on difficulties and complications accompanying the solution of some issues, in short, to practice an open policy -- in the press, at meetings, on bulletin boards. It is substance that matters, not form.

An open policy presupposes a public exchange of views, a social dialogue, and the application of Leninist methods of work, including such key principles as collectivism, criticism, and self-criticism.

The principle of openness naturally concerns every citizen, his rights and duties.

The principle of open publicity [otevrenost zverejnovani] is the Leninist style of work, the ability to comprehensively explain to the people all problems and questions in which they show an interest; it is the gist of political work, the gist of a policy that is open and honest.

SOCCER FEDERATION VIOLATES 'OPENNESS' PRINCIPLE

AU041458 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Feb 87 p 8

[CTK report: "Kukleta Punished," folloed by an "UR"-signed commentary]

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- According to information provided by the Committee of the Soccer Federation of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association, its disciplinary commission has punished Roman Kukleta, a member of the CSSR Olympic team, for violation of his duties as a member of national team. In the spirit of valid guidelines, Kukleta will be barred from representing the CSSR until 15 January 1988.

What, in fact, did Kukleta do? As we were told by the official in charge, on the way back from [a training camp of the Olympic soccer team in] Italy, Kukleta was caught shoplifing in a department store in the FRG. He paid a fine for his offense, but the disgrace is impossible to escape. However, in the eyes of those who investigated the case in the FRG the disgrace was not just Roman Kukleta's.

Let us add that the vague wording of the report from the Committee fo the Soccer Federation of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association on Kuleta's punishment is a pity. The formulation about "violation of the duties of a national team player" unnecessarily leaves a lot to the imagination. This practice is obviously out of line with the principle of openness [verejna informovanost].

FISCHER BEGINS TOUR OF SOUTH, SOUTHEAST ASIA

LD051436 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1226 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Colombo, 5 Mar (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer arrived in Colombo today for a 2-day official visit to Sri Lanka. He was warmly welcomed at the airport by his counterpart, Abdul Carder Shahul Hameed, who had invited him.

The talks between the two politicians are to start this afternoon.

The island Republic of Sri Lanka in the Indian Ocean is the first stopover of a 2-week trip by the GDR foreign minister to five countries in South and Southeast Asia, which will take him also to Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, and Indonesia

ARMY PRAISES SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

LD052307 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] The Soviet proposal to eliminate medium-range missiles in Europe has met with the full support of the GDR National People's Army. This was stressed at a meeting at the Defense Ministry, where leading cadres discussed ideological tasks. Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, described trust between the party and people as a precious achievement which must be strengthened daily through exemplary work.

OLYMPIC OFFICIAL ARRIVES IN SEOUL TO STUDY GAMES

LD042104 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1541 GMT 4 Mar 87

[Text] Seoul, 4 Mar (ADN) -- The president of the National Olympic Committee [NOC] of the GDR, Manfred Ewald, arrived in Seoul accompanied by the GDR NOC Vice President Guenther Heinze, and members of the International Olympic Committee. They are collecting information on preparations for the Olympic Games, which will be held from 17 September 1988 to 2 October 1988.

The NOC delegation was today received by the president of the Organizing Committee for the 24th Olympics, Park Sae-jik, for talks. During these Manfred Ewald explained that the GDR NOC supports a unified Olympic movement and the Olympics as a global festival of peace and friendship between the peace-loving, sporting youth of all continents. He expressed the expectation that the 24th Olympics in 1988 would be prepared on the basis of the Olympic Charter rules and regulations so that teams of all national Olympic Committees that wish to can take part without any hindrance.

The delegation will visit competition venues and other Olympic projects.

PROTESTANT CHURCH GROUPS REJECT NUCLEAR POWER

DW031455 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEIME in German 3 Mar 87 p 1

[EPD article: "GDR Church Groups Demand Renunciation of Nuclear Power"]

[Text] Leipzig, 2 March (EPD) -- At a meeting in Leipzig, representatives of more than 200 church groups in the GDR demanded the renunciation of nuclear energy and an immediate ban on constructing new nuclear power plants. In order to allow people to form a comprehensive opinion on nuclear energy, the GDR leadership should in addition make relevant energy-political and energy-technological data available to the public. These demands are contained in a resolution adopted by participants in this year's meeting, held under the slogan "Concretely for Peace," at the end of their 3-day discussions in Leipzig on Sunday [1 March]. The text also appeals to the directorate of the Federation of Evangelical Churches and Parishes to commemoate the Chernobyl reactor accident's 26 April first anniversary in memory of that disaster's victims. The peace decade this year should also primarily deal with nuclear energy problems. The participants in the seminar welcomed Moscow's disarmament proposals and asked the U.S. Administration" to take up those proposals positively; and finally negotiate on the total removal of intermediate-range missiles in Europe with the aim of achieving results."

Social Concerns Expressed

AU031956 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi report on congress of GDR religious peace groups, held in Leipzig on the weekend of 28 February-1 March]

[Text] In their resolution the Protestant activists demand the renunciation of nuclear energy, an immediate ban on building nuclear power plants, and the publication of all energy-political and energy-technical data by the GDR Government so that the population can form its own opinion. On the "Day of Chernobyl," the Chernobyl victims should be commemorated every year.

On the issue of conscientious objection, which is still prohibited in the GDR, the congress stated that this way of action is to be pursued today. The nationwide meetings of the GDR peace movement have become a tradition in the last 4 years. According to the assessment of participants, this year's meeting, however, was more self-confident, more purposeful, and more militant than previous ones.

Besides the issue of peace, the topics of ecology and human rights were also at the center of discussion. Many talks focused on the question of how the democratization and new openness practiced in the Soviet Union could be enhanced in the GDR as well. The presence of Johannes Hempel, regional bishop of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Saxony, gave the meeting a certain church-official character. The Leipig meeting united a large number of groups which, under the patronage of the Evangelical Church, have sprung up spontaneously in the country over the past year and will continue to do so.

In their detailed resolution the participants expressed opposition to the militarization of GDR society, and to travel restrictions for members of opposition groups. Specifically, this concerns the ultimately spoiled relations between the GDR peace movement and the West German Greens on the one hand, and between Hungarian and Czech environmental and human rights groups on the other.

On the peace issue, the participants said what is needed is detente on the basis of democratization of peace work. This means that in the GDR the state alone should not decide what its peace policy is, as has been done so far, but that citizens and important groups should have their say as well. The overall impression of the Leipzig meeting is that the most positive reaction to Gorbachev in the GDR comes not from the party but from the autonomous peace movement.

MSZMP CONTROL COMMISSION GROUP VISITS FOR TALKS

AU051155 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Feb 87 p 2

[Excerpts] Berlin -- On Wednesday [25 February] Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission of the SED Central Committee, received the delegation from the MSZMP Central Commission under the leadership of its chairman Andras Gyenes at the SED Central Committee Building. The Hungarian politician conveyed cordial greetings from MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were most cordially reciprocated.

The interlocutors expressed their satisfaction with relations between the two parties and their control commissions which are successfully developing in all fields. This development is also helped by the current exchange of experiences. [passage omitted]

The interlocutors stressed the need, in line with specific conditions of each party, to make active, creative contribution to strengthening positions of socialism and to preserving peace.

They noted in concert that the SED and the MSZMP resolutely endorse implementation of the peace program which has been submitted by the USSR, supported by countries of the socialist community and enriched by them with their own initiatives. It is important to prevent the loss of humanity in a nuclear catastrophe and to ensure a lasting peace. Istvan Roska, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the GDR, attended the fraternal exchange of view and experiences.

Delegation Departs

AU041306 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Feb 87 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN) -- At the end of its stay in the GDR, the MSZMP delegation headed by Andras Gyenes, chairman of the Central Control Commission, on Thursday [26 February] visited the "Friedrich Ebert" railroad repair yard. The delegation was accompanied by Erich Mueckenberger, Politburo member and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission of the SED Central Committee. The visitors were briefed on efforts of the enterprise's workers to contribute to strengthening the republic and consolidating peace.

The delegation also had a meeting with the Berlin Bezirk Party Control Commission. During a tour of the city, the visitors were given information on further developments and on projects in Berlin's 750th year of life.

SCIENTIFIC TALKS HELD WITH CUBAN DELEGATION

AU051512 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Mar 87 p 2

[Text] Berlin -- In Berlin on Tuesday [3 March] Dr Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of science and technology, received Dr Ismael Clark, head of the Cuban delegation to the 18th session of the subcommission for scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and Cuba.

The implementation of selected tasks related to long-term scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries in 1986-90 was central to the talks. There was particular emphasis on projects aimed at effective utilization of raw materials, materials, and power, as well as the effective rationalization and intensification of production. The two sides valued research findings which help to use natural resources through extraction of mineral raw-material deposits, to optimize technological main production processes in petrochemistry and oil refining, to obtain productive strains of vegetables, and to boost the output of milk and meat. They stressed the need to form even more effective scientific and technical relations to further enhance national economic growth in both countries.

Ramiro del Rio Perez-Toran, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to the GDR, attended the meeting.

AXEN DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH STOJANOVIC

LD051806 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1656 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Berlin, 5 Mar 87 ADN — Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary for the LCY Central Committee Presidium, agreed on measures to expand fraternal relations between the SED and the LCY in Berlin on Thursday [5 March]. The two politicians continued the exchange of views and experiences they began yesterday.

The same day the guest visited tourist attractions in the GDR capital and saw the achievements of the working people on the 750th anniversary of Berlin.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of agreement on the most important questions, and of mutual understanding and friendship.

SEIBER HOLDS TALKS WITH PCP'S CUNHAL 5 FEB

LD052347 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1935 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Lisbon, 5 March 87 — An SED delegation led by Guenter Sieber, member of the Central Committee and head of the Central Committee International Relations Department, met PCP Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal in Lisbon on Thursday [5 March] for talks.

The partners in the talk paid tribute to the long-standing, close, trusting relations between the SED and the PCP, which are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. During the detailed exchange of views on problems connected with the international situation, Guenter Sieber and Alvaro Cunhal assessed the lastest proposal by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe as a historic chance to advance on the path to a world without nuclear weapons.

This new, bold initiative is a powerful impetus for all peace forces. It fits in with the consistent efforts of the USSR and the socialist community of states to lead the negotiations with the United States on the whole complex of disarmament questions out of their blind alley. There is no reasonable argument against the rapid conclusion of such an agreement. It is now up to the United States to follow its words with deeds.

The positive response throughout the world to the Soviet proposal reflects the peoples' concern about continuing international tensions and their hopes for the prospect of a nuclear-free Europe and a reduction in nuclear weapon potentials generally. Guenter Sieber outlined the GDR's active policy of dialogue and referred in this connection to Erich Honecker's message to FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl which once again expresses the readiness of the GDR to agree with the USSR on the withdrawal of the longer range missile complexes stationed in the GDR immediately after the signing of an agreement on medium-range missiles.

Alvaro Cunhal welcomed the committee efforts of the GDR aimed at improving the international situation and at bringing about a return to detente. He stressed the great significance of the stable, dynamic development of real socialism for the strengthening of the forces of peace and of social progress. The secretary general of the PCP spoke about his party's efforts to broaden the peace movement in Portugal in diverse forms of action and to link it closely with the struggle for the social and economic rights of the working people and for a democratic change. Both politicians stressed that in view of the prime aim of all progressive forces to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe it is necessary for communists to find new, specific forms of cooperation which would make dedication to the urgent common tasks possible.

Guenter Sieber and Alvaro Cunhal agreed on measures aimed at further deepening relations beteen the SED and the PCP.

BRIEFS

NUCLEAR ACCORD WITH DENMARK — Copenhagen, 5 Mar 87 ADN — The president of the GDR State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection, State Secretary Professor Georg Sitzlack, and Danish Environment Minister Christian Christensen signed an agreement in Copenhagen on Thursday [5 March] on the operational notification of nuclear accidents and the exchange of information about nuclear plants. The purpose of the agreement is to further increase existing protection of the population and the environment from radiation dangers in the two countries and to allow cross-border preventive action in the event of an accident. [Excerpt] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1759 GMT 5 Feb 87 LD]

COMMISSION NOTES ARMS TALKS, ROMANIAN ACCUSATIONS

LD051653 Budapest MTI in English 1610 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI) -- The Foreign Affairs Commission of the Hungarian Parliament held a session in the House of Parliament in Budapest on Thursday with Matyas Szuros in the chair. State Secretary Gyula Horn of foreign affairs informed MPs about the current state and prospective results of disarmament and arms limitation talks.

It can be proved by figures, he said, that in terms of armaments there is a global balance of power. But as for specific systems of arms, the balance is only tentative. The USA and its allies have taken the initiatives in armament, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty member states -- in order to guarantee their own security -- have had no alternative but follow suit.

Gyula Horn reviewed in detail how the various negotiations were progressing and laid emphasis on achievements in the UN disarmament forums and on the constructive and compromising nature of proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Analyzing international issues contributors spoke with appreciation about the efforts the Soviet Union, led by the CPSU CC, was making in order to affect profound changes in society.

An MP queried about the accusations made at the latest session of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality in Romania and about the Hungarian position.

Matyas Szuros recalled that Hungarian papers published a piece of news Tuesday on the session of the Council of Workers of Hungarian nationality in Romania held in Bucharest last week-end. The session was addressed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP).

"We have learnt with regret," Matyas Szuros pointed out, "that allegations and accusations addressed to the Hungarian People's Republic were also made there. Our respective authorities are analyzing what could have provoked that unexpected and unfounded attack. I think we shall make our move in proper form and time, we cannot ignore that attack. Yet, there is no need to hurry or hassle, Hungary has always been led by the intention to improve relations, and that is the attitude we want to apply in the present situation as well."

PAPER VIEWS GORBACHEV'S LATEST PROPOSALS

AU051031 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Mar 87 p 1

[Editorial by Peter Sereny: "The Chances of a Breakthrough"]

[Text] An event this weekend has led to a world sensation. Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal could produce a breakthrough in the delicate Soviet-U.S. dialogue on security policy. The new type of thinking urged by Moscow might lead to a situation that, undoes the Reykjavik "package" and stresses the zero option for Soviet and U.S. missiles in Europe. A favorable answer from the United States would put the two world powers within reach of the first, however partial, nuclear disarmament agreement.

This in an unprecedented opportunity for the world and an unparalleled chance for Europe. The new opening made by Moscow creates great interest, because it has occurred at a time when the course taken by the United States has given little cause for optimism. It is enough to recall how the continuation of U.S. nuclear tests last week forced the Soviet Union to abandon the unilateral moratorium it had in force for 1 and 1/2 years -- and all this at a time when the representatives of the U.S. President were arguing with their allies in Western Europe over the "narrower" and "wider" interpretation of the Arms Control Treaty, and about the time limits for the space weapons program.

In this less than favorable situation for Soviet-U.S. dialogue, Moscow did not slam the door but rather intensified its efforts to find the Archimedean point from which it could move the Geneva arms limitation talks away from marking time, talks where the Reykjavik dossiers -- which are, after all, promising in themselves -- lay on the negotiating table. Due to spiraling missile development and deployment, time is increasingly urgent, especially in light of a particular political consideration. The year 1988 is an election year in the United States and this can slow down the process of dialogue or postpone agreements that might otherwise be reached. The Soviet side signaled earlier that it had not written off the Reagan administration as a negotiating partner, neither because of the difficulties that emerged after Reykjavik, nor because of the "Irangate" affair. If Moscow were to do that, it would take years before they could sit at the negotiating table with a future Washington administration. The fact that Gorbachev's latest proposal was made soon after the publication of the report of the special U.S. committee investigating the "Irangate" affair reflects this point of view.

When the Soviet leadership, in a political gesture that aroused great interest, included the U.S. zero option in its proposals at Reykjavik, it proved that it was capable of large-scale compromise. By undoing the "agreement package," the latest Gorbachev initiative has shown how far Moscow is ready to go to reach an agreement. However, it should also be noted that, speaking about the special treatment of Euromissiles as intermediate-range nuclear weapons, Gorbachev clearly stated that the question of strategic missiles was an organic part of the issue of "space defense" and space weapons. But is it vain to hope that it might be easier to find a solution for latter set of issues in the more encouraging atmosphere created by a Euromissile agreement?

Approached from this point of view, Gorbachev's proposal might be the Archimedean point for a breakthrough.

BERECZ SPEECH CLOSES THEORETICAL MEETING

AU051521 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Feb 87 p 3

["Staff member's report on the closing speech of Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, given on 21 February in Szeged at the Theoretical Conference on the Current Questions of Socialist Development: "The Closing Speech of Janos Berecz" -- passages between slantlines published in italics]

[Text] In his closing speech on the conference's work, the Central Committee secretary first mentioned that, including the preparations, the conference mobilized great intellectual resources and collected a large body of knowledge. As he said, views clashed or were in agreement in constructive debate, proving we are able to argue without having personal conflicts.

"Our most urgent task today, and this is what happened here in Szeged, is to review how the concept of socialism and its social practice can be enriched and modernized. The conference's work focused on the analysis of social practice and on the notion of the resulting socialism. Of course, the conference debates could not have been conducted without some clashes; we know that there are more tensions in society and ideology than those on the surface. Everyone approached the particular subjects from his own point of view, but with the same goal: to improve, to enrich! We also heard views that were not fully elaborated, or I would say, half sentences. While exchanging views is only possible if we are honest, nobody is obliged to understand half sentences.

"Debates were also uneven on judging our past, especially regarding the fifties. These years, of course, still provide a great many lessons. However, two things must be made clear: People are on the /wrong road/ if they only want to dig deeper into troubles. But so are those who — to guard against this — only 'remember the good things.' The correct balance that includes responsibility toward the nation must be found, because /the party had the courage to break with everything that was necessary to lead to renewal/. Yet there were also lessons, on which we could build and /accept continuity/. We have a common responsibility to deliver to new generation a past they can accept, one that holds lessons for the future too."

Joint Responsibility [subhead]

"/Party, Ideology, Politics/", were the headlines of the debate in which the secretary of the Central Committee noted: "Perhaps it is not bad that these words carry different meanings for the scientists and politicians, the theoretical researcher and the practical working member of the party. The only requirement is what he lay down in the following thesis: /"Science and politics must go hand in hand/. There must be a jointly cultivated area among social sciences dealing with situation analyses and the political agencies and institutions making decisions; this area is /political ideology/. Politics relies on the conclusions of sociology, but also expects this workshop to draw up several variations, besides concluding an analysis of this situation. The relationship between politics and sociology is clearer if we review the outstanding achievements of the past 30 years." "The 'division of labor' between science and politics is not good if one deals with exploration in the hope that the other might do something about it. Reform was started so that /the experts in politics, science and practice met with each other/. If there was a split among them, if harmony was not satisfactory, then things came to a halt and errors arose. Our joint responsibility lies in making the country grow and prosper."

Next, Janos Berecz emphasized: "In our lives /reason has priority/, but we must not lose sight of the fact that we /cannot exist without emotions either/! The necessary harmony must also be found here. We must translate the country's feelings into reality, discover what the public mood is like and what hopes the people entertain. It is worthwhile to heed the thoughts we read in the later writings of Lenin. One piece of advice is to analyze economic conditions exactly, set our own example on this basis, and prove our personal conviction. The other thought calls attention to the real test of a communist, i.e., to put Marxism into practice when and where he can. Both these thoughts inspire us to provide proof for the collaboration and action of science, ideology and politics, and for their harmony that inevitably brings up arguments."

The Meaning of Hegemony [subhead]

In turning to another important subject, Janos Berecz mentioned three key words: /Party, Socialism, Reform/. He said: "At this conference, reform gained general support. Today, reform is the tool, form, and even perhaps the meaning of our existence. [paragraph continues]

It is important to remember that during the process of socialist construction it was /the party that initiated the reform/, even if at the beginning we called it -- with certain self-restraint -- the new economic mechanism. This initiative was inspired by some bitter historical experience, and required political courage. We had to persuade people that the country needed it. For internal and external reasons, we have practiced this reform policy with various degrees of intensity. Renewal processes have now begun elsewhere too. /The unfolding of reform processes under socialism have become a national and international issue/. One must analyze these international lessons with scientific thoroughness so they become suitable for use and the bases for drawing new conclusions. This, of course, we must watch, but our most important task is to utilize the experience of our own progress."

"One of the important lessons the MSZMP recognized is the /presence of pluralism/ in several parts of society. When it declared itself ready to strive for the dominance of Marxism-Leninism, it acknowledged /the existence of various ideologies in our society/. Because the ideology of Hungarian society is pluralistic, the party declared dominance, rather than a monopoly. It also recognized pluralism when, during the drafting of the reform program, it formulated the /proportions of values/ in society.

The speaker then continued as follows: "The expression political pluralism is heard in our debates nowadays. If there are proportions of values, then these have some political aspects as well. However, the question can be raised whether, due to this situation in the present stage of socialist construction, it would be possible to see the development of a multipolar society with various power centers. Our answer is unambiguously /no/! It is impossible. A political struggle among these centers would divide society's foundations instead of creating a working, cooperative relationship of political institutions representing the various levels of interests. Power must be exercised in an institutional system that is able to develop in various ways, where the party leads, but shares the exercise of power by cooperating with society's various groups. In this way the interests represented by various political institutions are used for the common goal."

"Of course, a great many significant and far-reaching questions must still be answered. But the starting point is clear: /It is not enough to only regard the party's leading role in its globality/ [globalis], but it must also be complemented by the increasing independence and the responsible political role of organizations operating in various fields. If this does not take place, we all must suffer the consequences. For instance, today we can clearly see that /a better division of labor must be achieved between the party and the state/. The continued development of the economic reform will also inevitably bring along conflicts in society, but all conflicts of interests cannot lie on the shoulders of individual party organizations. Concrete economic measures will result in concrete consequences, though decisions might occasionally harm interests. This must be considered by state and economic organizations. A dialogue during the preparation of decisions is now possible only if all the people affected are involved. Our society does not agree to accept unexplained decisions anymore."

Undertaking is a Socialist Principle [subhead]

Next Janos Berecz quoted two other headlines of the debate: /Undertaking, Initiating/. Then he emphasized, "I consider these to be socialist principles, because socialism cannot be imagined to exist with people who are merely obliged to carry out decisions. /Undertaking involves both rights and opportunities. People and communities can only achieve great things if they think, innovate, and strive for something more/.

"What we now need most is /action/. The workers are correct when they ask the party to show more dynamism and determination. Intellectuals are correct when they say freer thinking must characterize our work. Well, let us practice both. It is not possible to let one single body provide answers to all questions; various institutions must have their own scope of movement. It is possible that we will come to a confrontation, but /our confrontation will take place in debate/. I accept the view that says that the cardinal issue at present is the party's development. We must also consider the interpretation of democratic centralism cannot be separated from time and space."

Janos Berecz formulated the following by looking beyond our country's frontiers: "Socialism is an internationalist idea, which takes shape in concrete national circumstances. Neither aspect can be disregarded. One must also carefully consider that /socialist development cannot take place in Hungary without the reciprocal effect of other socialist countries/. What is important for us is /to rely on our national experience/. At the same time we are glad to see, and and we follow with expectations and sympathy, the process of transformation unfolding in the Soviet Union. This process will make the international conditions for our own work more favorable, clearer, and more unambiguous providing opportunities for processing and utilizing the new experience.

"Do we have an image of socialism, a concept of socialism? One could hear this question asked many times during these 3 days. Yes, we have a concept of socialism: /Our socialism is built on the foundation of reality, it considers the world, and has a program for the future as well/" -- concluded Janos Berecz.

Sums Up Conference Work

LD212223 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 21 Feb 87

[Interview with Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by unidentified correspondent, place not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] In your closing speech [at the Szeged theoretical conference] you used two expressions: diagnosis and prognosis. What, in your opinion, have these three days of the theoretical conference given to the diagnosis and to the program?

[Berecz] If I used these two expressions, then a third one was missing, because the summing up of experience was also one of its tasks.

The conference primarily had to collect -- and it did collect -- all the knowledge and experience available to the MSZMP, amassed over the last 30 years. The fact that there was a debate, an informal debate, shows that diverse views and experience clashed.

Another of its tasks was to reveal the situation, or contribute to doing so, using this experience, renewing certain social activities and forms of activities; and, finally, drawing some conclusions about the future.

[Correspondent] I felt that in the program or in the projection everyone took a stance in favor of continuing the reform. What was clear was the continuation of the economic reform. There was no unanimity, however, about the desired reform of institutions. In fact, there were some rather extreme views on this.

[Berecz] I feel this is natural because Hungarian social science has not yet developed the basic principles and requirements that are needed for an institutional reform [intezmenyi reform]. Such work has been underway for 3 years. It so happens that it was the Agitation and Propaganda Committee of the Central Committee that commissioned and asked the scholars of the various fields. When they reach the level of being able to draw important conclusions, then it will be possible to hold political discussions and political debates about it.

[Correspondent] I would like to ask you, finally, what the fate of a conference such as this is? The reason I ask this is that, particularly in the economic sphere, it is often said we have little time to prepare; what we need now is action. This is probably not only valid for the economic sphere.

[Berecz] In regard to the economic sphere, I would say that the Central Committee's November resolution and then its December resolution on technical development, must be implemented so that we can act quickly in the economy. What we discussed here were long-term questions. These were the questions that came up.

The fate of a conference such as this is that first of all, summaries are prepared for the various leading institutions so they can have a general picture. Then we return to the various workshops almost the full record of the conference so that they can study it and outline research tasks, etc. Then we would like it very much if people working in the mass media -- I do not like this expression, I prefer the word press, and in it I include television, radio, and the printed press — could study it, study from it and contribute to its dissemination, and to its realization wherever possible.

HAVASI HOLDS TALKS WITH USSR DELEGATION

LD051905 Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI) -- On Thursday Ferenc Havasi, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, held talks with the Soviet delegation, which had arrived in Hungary under the leadership of Yuriy Konishev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Machine Engineering, on the establishment of Hungarian-Soviet joint ventures. Present at the meeting was Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD052252 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Excerpts] An intergovernmental agreement has been reached between the USSR and Hungary on bringing new forms of economic cooperation to the fore. [passage omitted]

Soviet and Hungarian enterprise leaders met this afternoon in the Ministry of Industry. Ferenc Havasi, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, also spoke at the session.

[Begin Havasi recording] We are interested in shaping the economy of the Hungarian People's Republic in such a way that our economic activity should be able to create a distribution of labor that is as internationally advantageous as possible. We are particularly interested in Hungarian enterprises developing good cooperation and relations with the socialist world, especially the USSR.

If we do not watch over our affairs in the development of joint undertakings, it will be easier for every socialist country, including the Soviets, to develop joint enterprises with capitalists than to develop joint enterprises between two socialist countries. How can the obstacles be overcome? Well, these obstacles are known; there is a great deal to be done. Thus, on the issue of accounting, we should examine ways and means so as to find advantageous solutions. [end recording]

MARJAI MEETS WITH NETHERLANDS INDUSTRIALISTS

LD051921 Budapest MTI in English 1811 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI) -- Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Van der Aart Padt, president of the Dutch DAF concern, and Cornelis Geurt Baan, member of the board of directors, in Budapest on Thursday. The parties held talks on cooperation between the Dutch manufacturer of vehicles and its Hungarian partners, the realization of ideas raised during their last year's talks in the Netherlands, and issues of world economy and East-West trade.

The Dutch businessmen held talks at the Ministries of Industry and Foreign Trade, and with managers of Raba, Ikarus and Hungarocamion, their main partners in Hungary.

MSZMP ECONOMIC DELEGATION VISITS USSR 2-5 MAR

LD051355 Budapest MTI in English 1253 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI) -- Heading a delegation of party activists, Miklos Nemeth, head of the Department for Economic Policy of the Central Committee of the HSWP, visited the Soviet Union March 2-5 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The delegation included Laszlo Mohai and Jozsef Nyers, deputy department head of the CC, and met Nikolay Slyunkov, candidate member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and held talks with Arkadiy Volskiy, member of the CC, head of department for machine manufacturing and Vladimir Mozhin, first deputy of the head of the department for economic policy [name and title as received] and leading members of the state committee for external economy of the Soviet State Planning Committee. Views were exchanged on current tasks of the HSWP and the CPSU in economic policy and Hungarian-Soviet economic relations and cooperation in the CEMA.

PARTY DELEGATION RETURNS FROM ROMANIAN VISIT

AU051114 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Feb 87 p 21

[Unattributed report: "Party Workers Delegation in Romania"]

[Text] Based on the working plan for cooperation between the MSZMP and the RCP, a Hungarian party workers delegation paid a visit to Romania 23-27 February. The delegation was led by Bela Bagota, deputy head of an MSZMP Central Committee department.

The Hungarian delegation, which was received by Mihai Gere, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, studied the Romanian practice of party administration in Bucharest and Constantsa.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF LABOR REDEPLOYMENT EXAMINED

AU121511 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 10 Feb 87 p 5

[Article by Jeno Andics, head of the sociology faculty of the Political Academy: "The Social Effects of Redeployment of the Labor Force"]

[Text] It is commonplace to emphasize that all renewal processes -- including the economic renewal -- involve some social conflicts. Many studies have been written on forecasting the sources of tension in economic reform. So far, however, we have experienced conflicts related only to the postponement and retardation of the renewal process. Based on recent events, however, it is now actually possible to see that the prognoses about hotbeds of tensions in economic restructuring were not mere assumptions, but were based on a reliable mapping out of real processes.

Interests and Tensions [subhead]

Two programs on television recently -- reporting on dismissals from the former Voros Csillag Tractor Factory and discussing labor redeployment in the Hirhatter program -- support the following: A learning process has begun in society, in which we must face the contradictions of a situation that differs from previous situations. This learning process does not, of course, immediately bring the best solutions, because nobody -- due to lack of social experience -- can carry the "philosophers' stone." The changes in the economic structure and the resulting changes in the labor structure represent a complex process with many problems. Therefore, oversimplification can easily lead to a statement that soon turns out to be a mistake. This is what we can now experience in the labor force dismissals based on the employers' initiatives. It is important to review again the following: What interests and values must be protected and represented?

Today it is indisputable -- and thus, it needs no justification -- that the processes of economic renewal are inconceivable without accelerated labor mobility. In scientific jargon we might call this more dynamic mobility on the part of employees. In any case we must realize that behind the expression there are people who are indeed affected in different ways by possible dismissals. It is the nature of accelerated mobility processes that they must bring about more contradictions, tensions, and conflicts.

In today's Hungarian society the existing and possible future conflicts are especially significant, because several objective preconditions for a dynamic change in the labor structure are missing. Without referring to all of these preconditions, the following must be mentioned: Regarding the size of the Hungarian economy, accelerated labor mobility is accompanied by stronger regional mobility, because in many cases no guarantee exists for reemploying the freed labor force in a given region. It is expected that commuting, and even the changing of one's permanent domicile, will increase. Due to the conditions of Hungary's transportation infrastructure and the well-known housing situation, the conditions of those involved will significantly worsen. Since it depends mainly on the individual, finding housing will be a lengthy process and will require extreme efforts from people. In addition, commuting conditions are backward, often primitive. Labor mobility will change the lifestyle of a part of those involved, and thus further increase the difficulties of changeover. The transformation will also endanger activity in the second economy which provides additional income.

In certain situations labor mobility is accompanied by changing a particular job and could cause disadvantages in the workers' income. Being forced to change one's skills is in itself a considerable burden on the individual. [paragraph continues]

What is more, due to the weaknesses of Hungarian vocational training, a great majority of working people have no suitable and general professional knowledge with which to ease the relearning process of a new job. Worsening income possibilities threaten to lower the standard of living of those involved. The tension is even greater, because such a situation is not a result of people's own activities but a result of economic changes; changes that people see as something they cannot influence, something fatal. Thus, people rightly feel that dismissal means an undeserved devaluation of their person, and working in a new place brings insecurity with regard to the future.

Without accounting for any further sources of tensions it is clear that the transformation of the labor structure has a profound influence on the society's interrelation of interests. This process infringes on the workers' most fundamental interests, so it is understandable if efforts toward dismissal meet with people's resistance. In this respect it seems provocative to explain the situation by saying that the individual interests of those involved must be subordinated to the renewal of the economy, which is in the interest of the entire society. Indeed, such an argument is not acceptable. For if we cannot deal satisfactorily with the considerations of disadvantaged people, then we cannot in general enforce satisfactorily the employees' interests in the decisions that concern structural changes.

The Means of Dismissal [subhead]

The contradictory nature of the renewal process does not in itself justify slowing down or even halting the process. Those efforts are justified and in accord with social interests, which are directed toward rationalized employment in order to make means and labor function efficiently. These efforts are manifested in the employers' decisions, and cannot be based on any reason other than economic rationalism [racionalitas]. In any case we must support those who strive for such a transformation.

The vital question is, however, what are the methods of dismissal and what means are used. The solutions, which are different from those used in the past, might give the appearance that we are dealing not only with the coordination of interests, but with the very nature of our system of values. It is sometimes said, even in public, that we must create new values and use them to replace some of the old ones. For some people this includes a devaluation of loyalty toward employees. Yet in the renewal process it is of fundamental importance for us to maintain all the practices that have stood the test of time. These include loyalty toward the enterprise! Employees who give satisfactory performance and are loyal to their enterprises are of decisive importance because they are the people on whom one can rely in planning the future. For a loyal employee, the working place is similarly important; in its development he sees the materialization of his own creative energy and performance.

Despite this, however, those with long-service badges [torzsgardatag] might also be dismissed; we have had many examples of this already. Being an employee with long-service does not guarantee keeping a previous workplace or a job. In other words, spending long years at one enterprise cannot slow down the necessary labor mobility. However, this does not mean that being a long-serving member will be of no value.

Based on what is mentioned above, a loyal employee rightly expects his merits to be considered and weighed accordingly in making a decision about him. Thus, we cannot equalize his situation with those joining a firm for the first time, or with that of floaters. One must find a solution to dismissal decisions which do not "devalue" the past performance of people involved. It is expedient to create advantageous positions for loyal employees whenever these employees are put in a new workshop or a new job within the enterprise. It is similarly profitable to apply a regulation which would guarantee pecuniary compensation for employees after a certain period of service, as a kind of compensation for disadvantages. [paragraph continues]

By involving those affected and their representatives, it could also be necessary to find other solutions jointly.

By Broadening Democracy [subhead]

Publicity is an important precondition for regulating and easing the conflicts that accompany accelerated labor mobility and for coordinating the various interests. Debates in mass communication facilities and the information they provide play an important role in this process. If anything, it is of similar importance to give publicity on employer's plans and concepts within the enterprise! It is a strain on the entire corporate atmosphere if the employees learn about future decisions through gossip or other official channels. Objective information given in a timely manner by the top leadership regarding the reasons for necessry restructuring cannot do away with all the conflicts, but it can make the inevitable labor redeployment more acceptable for everyone. This information is also a precondition for establishing a necessary corporate atmosphere for dialogue, for mutually seeking what is the most suitable solution.

The dismissal of the workforce -- as we can already see -- indicates the initiatory role of enterprises. Easing conflicts, creating a synthesis of interests is, however, far beyond the framework of enterprisees. Is assumes the more active work of trade unions in protecting interests, and it places more important tasks on the various governing agencies of the state as well. The matter here involves top priority interests in society which confront each other, whose coordination requires deeply rooted democracy in the operation of governing institutions. The party organizations also play a decisive role in this. Through their political activity they must succeed in having all the interests affected by increasing labor mobility weighed in finding a solution, and having all responsible institutions and organizations become actively involved in decisionmaking.

Conflicts will certainly place a burden on our public life. What triggers these conflicts and how strong these conflicts might be, however, is not a matter for indifference. It is dangerous to society if debates are based on misinterpreted staements, one-sided value judgements, and on efforts that concentrate exclusively on efficiency, disregarding all other aspects of interests. It is even more dangerous if decisions are motivated exclusively by these coinsiderations. Tensions based on this can slow down and block the objective acceleration of labor mobility. On the other hand, they can lead to a situation where people turn away from economic development because they think it is not for them. Without delay, only broader democracy can create possibilities for all-embracing debates, solutions, and for the recognition of their social impact; thus, in spite of tensions and conflicts, the new patterns of economic development strengthens the socialist characteristics of society.

BRIEFS

GYPSY COUNCIL REORGANIZED -- On the basis of the elections held in the county and in the capital, the National Gypsy Council, which falls under the auspices of the PPF, has been reorganized. The body numbers 27 members at present; it was decided to include additional Gypsy and non-Gypsy members in the future. The National Gypsy Council represents the interests of the Gypsy population in Hungary, and its mandate lasts until the Ninth PPF Congress. The chairman of the new presidium is Zoltan Szirtesi (Szeged). Deputy chairmen are Gyula Forgacs (Szombathely), Laszlo Lakatos (Encs), and Jakab Orsos (Gelenhaza). The secretary is Istvan Mezei (Budapest). [Text] [Budapest NPESZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Feb 87 p 5 AU]

CZYREK MEETS BUSH, U.S. REPRESENTATIVES

LD051207 Warsaw PAP in English 0926 GMT 5 Mar 87

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] Washington, March 5 -- Chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee, Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Josef Czyrek, visiting the U.S. at the head of a delegation of Polish parliamentarians, was received here March 4 by the U.S. Vice-President George Bush. During the meeting, exchanged were views concerning prospects of resumed Polish-U.S. dialogue, the current state of East-West relations and disarmament issues. The talk was held in a sincere atmosphere. Both sides expressed the willingness for further actions aimed to improve bilateral relations.

Also yesterday, Polish parliamentarians met with leading representatives of the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.

Jozef Czyrek was received by Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressman Jim Wright. During the meeting the sides presented a unanimous opinion as to the need for closer cooperation between both parliaments, cooperation which would help further improve atmosphere in relations between the U.S. and Poland. The sides discussed topics related to inviting an official delegation of Poland's Sejm to pay a visit in the U.S., in the latter part of May.

Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives Dante Fascell entertained Polish parliamentarians with dinner (?attended) by the committee's members and other U.S. congressmen, many of them of Polish descent. During the meeting, exchanged were views concerning premises for the development of U.S. Polish dialogue. At the same time, raised were important current problems in East-West relations.

In the afternoon, Polish parliamentarians met with Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Claiborne Pell. During the talk, stressed was significance (?of cooperation) between parliaments of the two countries. Simultaneously, Polish parliamentarians presented concrete instances of cooperation between various milieus in Poland within the framework of (?realization) of the process of national agreement.

On the same day, the Polish delegation held a meeting with two women representatives of the U.S. Congress of Polish [word indistinct] Senator Barbara Mikulski and the member of the House of Representatives, Marcy Kaptur. As both ladies deal with financial affairs, the talk focused on issues pertaining to economic cooperation between Poland and the U.S.

In the morning, Polish parliamentarians met with the leadership of THE WASHINGTON POST daily. After the meeting, Czyrek granted an interview to the daily's diplomatic correspondent.

In the evening, representatives of the U.S. Congress, government officials, men of culture attended a meeting held at the Polish Embassy here. Present were diplomatic representatives and journalists.

REPORTAGE CONTINUES ON FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ' VISIT

Dissident Inquiry 'Rebuffed'

AU051739 Paris AFP in English 1732 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Warsaw, March 5 (AFP) -- Warsaw on Thursday firmly rebuffed questions about a Polish dissident [kept] from visiting Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Mr. Ordonez told a news conference during the last day of his 48 hour official visit here.

The dissident, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, former spokesman for the banned trade union Solidarity, was arrested and detained for several hours at the Polish Interior Ministry before meeting with Mr. Ordonez and other former Solidarity leaders at the Spanish Embassy in Warsaw.

Mr. Fernandez Ordonez said his Polish counterpart Marian Orzechowski told him Mr. Onyszkiewicz's arrest "had nothing to do with his visit" and "would not be allowed into the agenda" for Polish-Spanish talks.

The Polish news agency PAP reported that Mr. Fernandez Ordonez on Thursday discussed disarmament and security and co-operation in Europe with Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Mr. Fernandez Ordonez was to fly back to Madrid on Thursday, and has invited Mr. Orzechowski to return his visit.

Meets With Jaruzelski

LD051505 Warsaw PAP in English 1326 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Warsaw, March 5 -- Today, President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, now on an official visit to Poland.

Stressing Polish people's respect and friendly feelings towards the Spanish people, Jaruzelski voiced satisfaction over the visit to Poland by member of the Spanish Government. Both sides voiced conviction that the visit would contribute to further development of bilateral relations and to attaining a level of cooperation between both countries corresponding to their potentials and position in Europe.

The sides discussed also international problems, paying special attention to issues of disarmament and security and cooperation in Europe.

Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski took part in the talks. Present were Polish and Spanish ambassadors -- Marian Benke and Fernando Olivie, respectively.

Views International Relations

LD051747 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Excerpts] Wojciech Jaruzelski has received the visiting Spanish foreign minister, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez. [passage omitted]

The head of the Spanish delegation granted an interview to Radio Polonia. Asked about the results of his trip to Poland, Fernandez Ordonez said, among other things: I regard this visit as enormously useful. We have taken into account various aspects of Polish-Spanish cooperation in our review of mutual relations. We reviewed the possibilities of industrial cooperation, including the problems involved in creating mixed enterprises, and the prospect of increasing trade.

Regarding international affairs, Minister Fernandez Ordonez noted: I feel our role -- that of Poland and Spain -- is to promote cooperation aimed at joining the two world political blocs. We also received Mikhail Gorbachev's last proposal in a constructive spirit. The conclusion of an accord on the question of medium-range missiles in Europe would signify a turnaround in the international situation, stimulting negotiations and agreements acceptable to both sides on other areas affecting the limitation of the arms race and disarmament.

PRC PARTY DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS, ENDS VISIT

LD051033 Warsaw PAP in English 0648 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Warsaw, March 4 -- A delegation of the Chinese Communist Party CC Department for International Contacts, headed by Alternate Member of the CC, Deputy Chairman of CCP CC Department Li Shuzheng has ended its visit to Poland.

The Chinese delegation held talks at the PUWP CC Foreign Department devoted to the prospects of development of contacts and cooperation between the PUWP and the CCP. Members of the delegation also visited the city of Lodz and met with head of the PUWP CC Political and Organizational Department Stanislaw Gabrielski.

The delegation was received by Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek. Czyrek briefed the Chinese guests on the major directions of activities undertaken by the PUWP aimed to fully implement the 10th congress's resolutions.

Sides stressed the great importance of PUWP CC first secretary, president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to the People's Republic of China September last for the development of relations between Poland and People's China. The meeting was attended by head of the PUWP CC Foreign Department Ernest Kucza.

SEJM DELEGATION CONCLUDES VISIT TO INDIA

LD052316 Warsaw PAP in English 2205 GMT 5 Mar 87

[By PAP correspondent Kryzysztof Mroziewicz]

[Text] New Delhi, March 5 -- Polish Sejm (parliament) delegation headed by Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski wound up today an official visit to India.

The delegation was received by India's President Giani Zail Singh and met with Premier Rajiv Gandhi, chairman of Parliament's Council of State, India's vice-president Ramaswamy Venkataraman, speaker of Parliament's House of the People's Balram Jhakhar and with Minister of External Affairs Naraian Dutt Tiwari.

The talks concerned parliamentary issues as well as the entirety of relations between Poland and India with particular interest in cooperation and economic exchange. The visit confirmed the possibilities and need for the more intensive development of cooperation.

The sides stressed the common will of more active contacts between parliamentary groups and foreign affairs committees of both parliaments.

The Sejm speaker invited the delegation of the Indian Parliament to pay an official visit to Poland. The invitation was received with satisfaction.

On the last day of the visit the delegation was acquainted with the works of the Indian Centre for Agricultural Research.

POLITBURO REAFFIRMS SUPPORT FOR USSR PROPOSAL

LD051036 Warsaw PAP in English 0636 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Warsaw, March 4 — The PUWP CC Political Bureau today reviewed the principal issues of the party's ideological work in implementing the resolution of the 1981 tenth congress, noting the party had been continuously uniting its ranks. It noted the extreme importance of the state of social consciousness to the way and pace of solving economic and social problems. The fundamental norm of party activity should be concern for people and their sense of security, justice and equality under the law.

A particular ideological duty at this moment is analysis of the social conditions of the second stage of the economic reform, the bureau said, adding that the acceleration drive should be reflected in party work through striving to swifter and more widely introduce partnership labour system, streamlined organizational structures and through attestation of jobs.

To develop and deepen democracy requires a lot of discussion and research as well as in-depth analysis of the new qualities and capabilities of the socialist political system, the bureau noted.

People's rule, public consultations, referendum and opinion polls should be reinforced by broad ideological work and wide and clear information on the reasoning behind the decisions taken. It is particularly important to promote active civic attitudes and overcome the outdated habitual practices which hamper development.

In-depth consideration should be given and conclusions for party work drawn from the changes taking place in other socialist countries, including above all the reconstruction and aceleration drive in the Soviet Union, the (?bureau) said. It noted the importance of the theoretical study of the party's activity and Marxist social sciences, saying ideological activity is manifested by vivid, creative and authentic debates and disputes, involving also non-party members, different outlooks and beliefs, in PRON and other organizations.

Political campaigns inside the party as well as individual meetings or conferences should be more combative in posing the issues, stigmatizing evil etc., the bureau stressed. Criticism cannot be without address, merely "general," it was said at the meeting which raised also the question of sharper responsibility for decisions taken and checking on their implementation.

An important role in forming social consciousness rests with harmonious linking of the pedagogical and informing activity and propaganda with the practice of social life, the knowledge and understanding of facts, and growing share of the working people in solving the problems of their milieu and the larger country.

Party ideological work will be discussed by the 5th plenum of the CC later this year, the bureau decided, saying the plenum would raise the key of ideological work and propaganda. It recommended for preparations for the plenum to focus, inter alia, on deepening the assessment of the major issues relating to the present stage of socialist construction in Poland, in close relationship to practice, and theoretical interpretation of new social phenomena and processes.

The bureau approved a time-table of the preparations, especially with regard to consultations to be held among working-class circles and people of science and culture as well as the youth and ideology staff.

The bureau approved also the "Rules of Celebrating Public Holidays and Major Historic Anniversaries," recommending to give special rank to the upcoming celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution, 70th anniversary of the recovery of independence, 40th anniversary of unification of the Polish working-class movement, 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, and 200 years since the passing of the May 3 constitution.

It welcomed in full satisfaction and support the Soviet proposal of an agreement on total elimination of the Soviet and American intermediate range missiles from Europe, proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev on behalf of the CPSU Political Bureau.

It noted the Soviet initiative was in full harmony with Poland's own efforts towards international detente, which aim at farthest possible limitation and reduction of armaments and bringing the present approximate parity of powers in Europe to an even lower level.

BRITISH PAPER INTERVIEWS SPOKESMAN JERZY URBAN

PM021527 London MORNING STAR in English 27 Feb 87 pp 6-7

[Interview with Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban by Roger Trask: "Poland Makes Up for Lost Time;" date not given]

[Text] Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban speaks with a candour and openness which at first appears disarming and faintly disloyal to his country.

But nothing could be further from the truth.

Blunt criticisms of his homeland -- such as branding the quality of Polish exports as "poor" or denouncing the failures of the housing programme -- stem from the blisteringly frank debate now constant in Polish society.

"The wave of criticism is massive," said Mr. Urban last week in an interview with the MORNING STAR during his first visit to Britain.

"It does not let the authorities sleep soundly and it is the sort of guarantee that in the future a crisis such as the one earlier this decade will not happen again."

Now Poland "is very different from what it was like in the '70s," says Mr. Urban, a journalist by profession, "and we are only halfway along our path of political reforms."

Few would suggest that the recent experience of the Polish people has been anything but profound, although the frenzy of debate and the new democratic structures established have also thrown up many contradictions which the state is wrestling to resolve.

Take the question of subsidies, which Mr. Urban points out have to be largely eliminated as Poland moves toward a market economy.

With the exception of particular industries such as ship-building, children's clothing and milk production, subsidies which up to this year have continued to increase will, in 1987, fall by 15 per cent.

"At present," says Mr. Urban, "we subsidize all foodstuffs which obviously is not economically healthy and not according to a market economy.

"It deforms the structures of prices and also the family budget."

But he emphasises: "The policy of gradually eliminating subsidies is not supported by the working class."

To win popular backing, the government is launching a major publicity campaign and one of the examples likely to be cited in it was on the tip of Mr. Urban's tongue.

"Take central heating in flats," he said. "Eighty per cent of the cost is subsidised by the state so a person who owns or rents a flat pays only 20 per cent of their heating costs.

"That means that 80 percent is paid by the whole of society, including those who do not have the comfort of central heating -- so if you have to buy coal and burn it every night you still have to pay for the comfort of others."

Price increases are of course a sensitive area for the Polish people and government.

Ironically, excessive subsidies, particularly on food which remained virtually unchanged in price for the 20 years before the crisis, have resulted in more drastic action being needed now.

"We would like prices to be correlated with the amount of labor spent on producing the commodity," says Mr. Urban but he stresses that government action will be cautious and alert to protecting the immediate as well as long-term needs of the working class.

Last year, despite a 6 per cent growth in the economy, Poland's hard currency foreign debt climbed still further to 33 billion dollars and the Polish Government spokesman made no secret of the way this burden is curbing economic advance.

Anticipating Washington's decision to terminate its economic restrictions against Poland, announced the day after we spoke, Mr. Urban exuded confidence over the prospect of securing loans from the IMF, the World Bank and the international banking system.

"We need credit not in order to increase the debt but in order to check it," he explained.

There was, he insisted, no possibility of the IMF dictating terms to the Polish Government.

"We shall," said Mr. Urban, "only take credits if they guarantee increased export capacity and so assist the better servicing of the debt."

More exports, including to the socialist Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) countries, means producing better quality goods which requires tackling one of the key problems bedevilling the Polish economy.

With domestic producers not having faced competition, said Mr. Urban, "manufacturers producing low-quality goods do not have any problem selling them."

This weakness, he explained, was being tackled through a combination of measures -- such as tax benefits for firms who are also exporters and far tougher quality controls -- including checking by the independent workers and peasants' inspectorate.

And this mixture of carrot and stick -- small carrot and people's stick -- for winning and involving workers rather than trying to bludgeon or exhort them characterises the economic and political reforms endorsed at last year's 10th congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Mr. Urban, not a member of the PUWP himself -- a surprising fact perhaps for a government spokesman -- speaks with pride at the dual authority now operating in the factories and offices.

"For Polish workers there is no democracy without workers being able to elect their own director," he points out.

They are "elected on the basis of a consensus between the self-management of the factory and the proposals by the representatives of the higher administration officials."

Most managers in Britain would probably be appalled at the prospect of facing election by their workforce and some would no doubt argue that such a system flies in the face of building a technologically advanced nation.

Not so, says Mr. Urban, because every candidate considered for election is agreed by both the workers and government officials as qualified to do the job.

In this way, the factory director is both skilled to do the job and accountable to the freely-elected representatives of the workforce.

The self-management system, he explained, which was implemented in the wake of the crisis, gives real power to the workers. As its operation has become more firmly established, so have central government directives diminished.

State planning still plays a vital role, but increasingly the government uses its economic influence, such as subsidies, orders or bank loans to encourage those enterprises which are modernising and exporting.

Disappointed but not surprised that only a minority of workers are at present active in the self-management process, Mr. Urban is clear that "the former Solidarnosc is a thing of the past," he says. Divisions in public opinion no longer follow lines related to the former trade union.

And he quoted the example of a recent opinion poll conducted anonymously among former Solidarnosc and non-Solidarnosc members.

"One of the questions was: 'Do you support the activities of the Solidarnosc underground?' -- to which 2.8 percent of former members said Yes as did 2.2 percent of those who had never been in Solidarnosc."

Some 60 percent of the seven million members in the new trade unions are former Solidarnosc members, he pointed out, as were one-third of PUWP members.

Of course, one of the important tests of the nation's course will come in June with the third visit to Poland of Pope John-Paul II.

"We hope the visit will help strengthen the patriotic attitude of Poles," said Mr. Urban, "and strengthen the struggle of peace to the benefit of Poland and the whole world."

His itinerary will include the northern port city of Gdansk, the birthplace of Solidarnosc in 1980, but the Polish spokesman was confident the papal presence there would not spark off a new wave of opposition.

"As a slogan of the papal visit we have agreed with the church side that Poland will welcome the Pope and it will be a 'sober, pure and well-managed Poland.'"

Describing current church-state relations as normal, Mr. Urban emphasises: "We do not wish to escape from ideological arguments -- but we would like to stress what we have in common, which is what is most wanted by our society which is predominantly Catholic."

But under questioning, he was prepared to concede that the church often shows symptoms of non-tolerance and pressure -- "we come across these cases everywhere" -- while publicly proclaiming itself in support of all types of freedom.

His hopes were that the papal visit would assist the country's attempts to advance economically and would extol the "virtues of man as a worker.

"Up to now, the preachers in Poland have been very preoccupied with the distribution of what is available. They did not concern themselves much with how to create the product."

But that latter aim, said Mr. Urban, is certainly a task the government and the PUWP cannot and will not baulk at.

Poland has partly turned away from its unreliable trading partners in the West to collaborate with other socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, in modernising the country's economy and accelerating growth.

"With the Soviet Union," he said, "we seek ways of making up for the most lost by our technological backwardness caused by the breach of contacts by the West."

But despite the several large British industrial projects left unfinished six or seven years ago -- since completed with the aid of the CMEA countries -- Mr. Urban declared: "We look forward to the return of the British."

Now that the U.S. has been forced to abandon its vindictive economic restrictions, Poland's progress could be quickened. But Poles, and not least their official government spokesman, are aware it is their own endeavours which will be decisive.

CARDINAL GLEMP HOLDS NEWS CONFERENCE 26 FEB

AU031323 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 27 Feb - 1 Mar 87 pp 1, 13

[Report by Ada Szubowa on news conference given by Cardinal Jozef Glemp at the International Press Center in Brussels on 26 February]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Question concerning the position of the church in Poland following General Jaruzelski's visit to Rome.

-- The church views this as one stage in the process of approaching and understanding the church. We do not consider it to be of fundamental importance because it constitutes only one link in the chain of dialogue between the church and the PPR.

Question concerning the lifting of U.S. sanctions against Poland.

-- The church favors the lifting of the sanctions, as they have placed a heavy burden on the entire society, particularly the poor. Poor economic performance and economic collapse did, of course, have an impact on the man in the street. That is why we indicated it would be right to lift the sanctions. The sanctions were removed as a result of many actions designed to introduce greater rights in Poland, greater civil freedoms.

The lifting of sanctions was anticipated. It was not only a step toward the normalization of relations with Poland, but also one of significance for East-West dialogue.

Why did the primate not mention the names Walesa or Solidarity during the lecture he gave yesterday?

-- Yesterday's conference addressed the church in people's Poland and I kept to the question of the church's development within that reality. I was not dealing with the subject of Solidarity. Naturally, had I addressed the subject, I would have had to discuss the issue. But I must admit the Solidarity issue is so complicated, so involved -- it requires careful study -- that I cannot express an opinion on it because I am not able to do so.

Question concerning the Polish primate's interview for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: Are the reforms implemented by M. Gorbachev permanent?

-- My interview for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA differed from the Belgian press' questions in that Mr Pochivalov's queries also dealt with religious topics; the questions from the Belgian press were exclusively political, and religious matters were not raised. You are asking if this will have an influence on the position of the church in Poland? It is, of course, difficult for us to say something today about the Soviet reforms, but I do not exclude the possibility of these reforms leading to the greater democratization of Soviet life. I was indeed invited to the Soviet Union. However, I did not go on this occasion, but the invitation itself is also a sign of a certain openness on the part of the Orthodox Church with regard to world affairs. [passage omitted]

Question about whether the Holy Father's third visit to Poland will aid the establishment of diplomatic ties between the Vatican and Poland.

-- We are making preparations for the Holy Father's third visit. The visit is taking place in an atmosphere of good relations between church and state. This has an impact on the trip. Will this have a bearing on the establishment of diplomatic relations? I do not think the issues are related.

The question of diplomatic relations is the concern of the Episcopate and the Holy See. We would like to put this proposal into effect. I think we have reached a fairly advanced stage and shortly it will be possible to talk about an exchange of diplomatic representatives between the Vatican and Poland.

Preparations for the Holy Father's visit are being made by a joint group, that is, one composed of representatives of the church and the authorities in those towns that the Holy Father is to visit.

Does Poland have an Iustitia et Pax Commission and other charitable groups?

-- There is an Iustitia et Pax Commission attached to the Polish Episcopate and it comes under the authority of the Iustitia et Pax Commission based at the Holy See.

Pax Christi does not exist as a movement in Poland. There are many spiritual movements, such as the charismatic movement, the Oasis movement, the neocatechumenate movement, Communione e Liberazione, Focolarini, and we have Covenants of Families, and Families of Families. They are all church movements, but they are not organizations.

There is no Opus Dei as such, but there are representatives of the movement in Poland. [passage omitted]

Question: Do you know anything about a possible attempt on the life of Mr Walesa?

-- I assume that Mr Walesa receives adequate security. It is true that anyone can be the victim of terrorism, including Mr Walesa. However, I have not heard of these kinds of attempts against Mr Walesa, and there is no need to confirm it.

On the other hand, the death of Father Popieluszko, a death in agony, was a great shock to all Poles. But I would like to stress the great wisdom of Polish society which, although deeply upset by this death, remained calm during those difficult days, especially during the funeral. We know that the murderers were punished.

CATHOLIC PAPER REVIEWS TIES WITH FRENCH PARISHES

AU060858 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 15 Feb 87 pp 1, 4

[Tomasz Welnicki article: "Jumelage"]

[Excerpts] Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger's December 1981 request to the Catholics of the Paris Archdiocese to pray for and help the Poles as an expression of friendship marks the beginning of organized cooperation between the "twin" parishes of Warsaw and Paris -- of the "jumelage" movement. [passage omitted]

Martial law made this cooperation one-sided in the beginning, since Paris continued to send medicines, food, and clothing to our country. The help France, the United States, and the FRG provide is not the basis of the "jumelage" movement and its development. The primary purpose of the movement is to exchange experience between local parishes and their rectors.

In November 1985, Bishop Wladyslaw Miziolek traveled to Paris with 17 priests and on 29 January of this year French priests arrived in Warsaw on a return visit. They were received by Jozef Cardinal Glemp and attended Bishop Marian Dus' lecture on the Catholic Church's pastoral activities at the Episcopate, diocese, and parish levels.

Father Edward Majcher discussed the problems of the country's catechization and said that after religious instruction was eliminated from schools by the state, new facilities had to be created for children to attend lessons in catechism as preparation for a Christian life and to Christianize reality as adults raising families, as members of their communities, and perhaps as public militants. It is not enough to belong to the Catholic community. It is necessary to possess a profound knowledge of the Gospel to be faithful to it, even at the most difficult moments. (Passage deleted in line with the law on the control of publications and public performances of July 1981.) [passage omitted]

A general cooperation formula between Polish and French parishes has not been formulated as yet because new areas for cooperation continue to be found. [passage omitted] However, the Polish and French churches are taking mutual advantage of current cooperation. Our existence in a country governed by a Marxist party and our efforts to maintain unity among priests and with the hierarchy, the Holy Father, and the Vatican is useful for the French in view of extremely militant and aggressive anti-Christian and anti-Catholic propaganda. The French church can also learn much from the Polish phenomenon of the church of the masses -- of the church based on the priests and the people, and not on intellectual elites. On the other hand, the French church has made interesting achievements in rehabilitating faith in deChristianized communities and in winning over the laity.

It is also possible that friendly warnings will allow us to avoid unseen or minimalized dangers. Discussing this subject, French Father Pascal Gollnisch indicated two dangers he believes are real threats to the Polish church. He pointed to the attitudes of the lay people who rally around the church and wish to participate in its life without knowing anything about its nature and principles, and said that the priests must be wise and prudent in such cases and show enough patience neither to discourage nor to neglect the faithful. He also stressed the Catholic Church, which has always been a fatherland for the Polish people in times of enslavement and oppression, is constantly being exposed to attempts to manipulate it into political games of expedience. The church has the right and duty to resolutely clamor for the nation's just and worthy existence, but the faithful must not see the church as a political institution, no matter how bitter and lost they feel.

This reminds us of Jozef Cardinal Glemp's words: "Confusion is rife everywhere and not only in our country. It is rife throughout the world, which needs clear directives for the daily realization of the Gospel. I think nothing is more important for us than to keep to this path. We realize that if we follow the path of the Gospel -- a path subjected to no pressure, circumstances or calculated cunning -- then we follow the path that is truly the right path. When socialism embarks on the path to the cross -- to Christianity -- then we will let it accompany us. But as things are now, our present path has been mapped out with all clarity."

AFP CITES REPORTS ON OIL REFINERY ACCIDENT

AU051012 Paris AFP in English 0949 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Vienna, March 5 (AFP) — A refinery explosion and the collapse of a factory roof in Romania in January, which together killed at least 25 people and left dozens injured, could have been caused by sabotage, according to a Romanian underground newspaper received here Thursday.

THE HUNGARIAN PRESS OF TRANSYLVANIA, an underground newspaper for the Hungarian minority in Romania, said a January 26 explosion at an oil refinery at Ploiesti, south east Romania, killed five people and injured several others.

The paper said several reports circulating in Ploiesti attributed the explosion to sabotage. The incident occurred on the birthday of head of state Nicolae Ceausescu.

The paper also reported that the collapse of a roof at a factory near the north west town of Satu Mare in mid-January left at least 20 dead and dozens of injured and there were again rumours of sabotage.

Official press reports said there were 10 dead and 47 injured from the accident in mid-January.

The underground paper said the Satu Mare hospital where injured were taken, was cordoned off by police who stopped people going in. It said the Securitate secret police tried to suppress rumours that the collapse was sabotage.

Police threatened reprisals against accident witnesses, the injured and their families who talked about the incident or the number of dead, the paper said.

Romanian press reports said a state commission had been set up to investigate the accident.

CEAUSESCU SPEECH TO JOINT NATIONALITY MEETING

AU030601 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Feb 87 pp 1, 3

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to a joint meeting of Hungarian and German Nationality Working People's Councils in Bucharest on 27 February]

[Text] Dear Comrades: The activity of the working people and of the entire nation focuses on the plans and programs for socioeconomic development in the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan period, the unflinching implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions, the party program for building a comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania, and the country's advance toward communism. (loud, prolonged applause)

That is why it is logical for the plenary meetings of the Hungarian and German Nationality Working People's Councils to examine the way in which they have worked to contribute to the achievement of all these objectives -- and activity in which all our people, in complete unity, under the leadership of the RCP, are strongly engaged. (loud, prolonged applause).

The achievements of 1986 were broadly discussed within the party and state bodies and in all the democratic bodies of our society, which include activists and working people of various nationalities. The required measures were established to appropriately fulfill the plans for 1987 and for the whole 5-year plan period.

As is well known, the years of socialist construction Romania passed through several historic stages -- from a bourgeois-landlord society and a state which was divided into classes of oppressor and oppressed to a socialist system and the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society. Romania -- once a poorly developed country -- has become an industrial-agrarian country with strong and modern industries and an agriculture in the process of full development.

On the basis of the development of the forces of production, science, education, culture, and all creative activity has strongly developed.

The establishment of the power of workers and peasants and the passage to building socialism in our country eliminated forever the bourgeois-landlord society, social and national inequalities, and ensured full equality of rights for all citizens regardless of nationality.

What stage of socioeconomic development is Romania in today?

The achievements of our homeland are well known. Nevertheless, I believe it is necessary to recall some of them. The national wealth of our homeland increased from 330 billion lei in 1950 to 4,715 billion lei in 1986, that is, it increased 14 times in this period. The value of fixed assets increased from 160 billion lei in 1944 to almost 3,000 billion lei in 1986 and comes to 130,000 lei per capita. About 90 percent of the fixed assets were achieved in the past 20 years.

It is worth stressing the fact that 90 percent of the fixed assets are in the ownership of the whole nation -- under the form of state property, belonging to the working people in the capacity as owners, producers, and end-users, and a cooperative property -- which represents the supreme form of ownership and ensures the development of production forces, the raising of our people's general level of civilization, and equal working and living conditions for all the citizens of the country.

The industrial output in 1986 was 115 times higher than in 1944. The value of industrial production increased from 11.4 billion lei in 1944 to over 1,300 billion lei in 1986.

The basic branches of a modern economy have strongly developed.

The Romanian industry can produce today the most of modern machines and equipment in all fields. [paragraph continues]

Apart from nuclear weapons, there is no field in which Romanian industry is not active or able to turn out high quality products. This includes aviation and even the production of some missiles required for our defense.

I stress all these facts because it is well known from how low a point Romanian industry began in 1944; it shows the great efforts made by the Romanian people and working class -- the leading class of our society -- to eliminate that state of affairs. All these facts disprove what was said in the past about workers never being able to prove themselves good leaders.

The realities in our country, and in our socialist countries as well, strongly show that only when the working class becomes the leading class, and when the working people and our entire nation become masters of their fate and of the homeland's riches, will they be able to better administer and use available means to ensure the country's overall progress and raise our homeland to new heights of development and civilization! (loud applause; chants of: "We Will Work and We Will Fight, the Country We Will Elevate!")

Last year, the output of our country's metallurgical industry was more than 14 million metric tons of steel, as compared to only 245,000 metric tons in 1944. Today Romania is among the leading countries in terms of per capita steel production.

The machine building industry has developed and expanded, producing all types of the strongest and most modern machinery and equipment. The value of the machine building industry increased from 800 million lei in 1944 to 389 billion lei in 1986.

The production of the chemical and petrochemical industry today is almost 1,000 times higher than in 1944.

The production of light industry is over 210 times higher than in 1944.

Transportation and the other branches of the national economy also developed accordingly.

Agriculture has been reorganized on a socialist basis and strongly developed; its production last year was more than five times that of 1944. On this basis, the food industry has also developed, and in 1986 its output was 36 times higher than in 1944.

Thus, based on facts and realities which no one can deny, the great revolutionary changes that completely altered Romania's appearance raised the level of civilization for our entire nation.

One of the greatest achievements of socialism in our homeland and of our party policy is the balanced development and rational distribution of the forces of production throughout the country, in all counties of the homeland.

The new administrative reorganization and the establishment of the counties laid a strong foundation for the development of all regions of our country. During the past 20 years there was no county in which some worksites or industrial centers have not been established guaranteeing the necessary conditions for the stability of the population, raising the level of training and overall culture, and ensuring equal working and living conditions for all citizens of the homeland.

Likewise, we sought to achieve a minimum level of industrial and agricultural production and services per capita in all counties of the country. In 1985, the volume of economic activity was a minimum of 70,000 lei per capita. In accordance with the current 5-year plan, our production must be at least 80,000 lei per capita by 1990.

All this strongly proves the correctness of the thoroughly scientific, realistic, and humanitarian policy promoted by our party, which starts from the people's interest in ensuring the material conditions to raise the standard of living and level of civilization, and of achieving true equality of rights for all working people regardless of nationality.

These accomplishments are well known to us and all our people. All these have brought about a strong overall development of the country, thoroughly strengthened the working class and the unity of all our people around the RCP, and increased the determination to work resolutely to unflinchingly fulfill the programs of our homeland's overall development. (loud applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-Romania, Our Esteem and Pride!", "Ceausescu -RCP!", and "Ceausescu and the People!")

The situation that existed in the past, the legacy of poorly developed science, education, and culture are known to all. We eliminated illiteracy and backwardness in these sectors long ago. We paid great attention to developing science, education, and culture as basic and decisive factors for ensuring the homeland's overall development, building new social system, and promoting the country's advance toward communism. We took as our starting point and continue to believe that the idea of building an advanced society and establishing communism is inconceivable unless all our activity is based on the latest discoveries of science, technology, education, culture, and human knowledge in general. We can assert with justified pride that science, education, and culture played a very important role in developing our homeland, truly ensuring full equality of rights in these areas. (loud prolonged applause).

It is no secret to anyone, I think -- although I must mention that our press and radio and television do not always inform people of what is happening in other countries -- that even in developed capitalist states, according to official figures published by leading institutions, there are still hundreds of thousands, and in some countries millions of illiterates, and that there are still people who, simply because their skin is of a different color, are not permitted to study or enjoy all the discoveries of science, culture, and education.

We have ensured free education for all our young people. We have strongly developed higher education, which ensures the training of cadres for all sectors. There is no field of modern knowledge in which our science is not involved. We train all the personnel we need -- the training being available to all citizens of the homeland, without any sort of discrimination, no matter if there ancestors were Romanian, Hungarian, German, Serbian, or any other nationality. The only prerequisite for admission to school is the ability to learn. Each person must show an interest in learning better and more thoroughly about the latest discoveries in culture and other fields, and, certainly, to learn about the fundamental issues in the extact sciences -- as we call them -- or in science, technology, physics, chemistry, and mathematics. Today, as you well know, strong development is inconceivable without solid mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology -- with all their branches -- and all other technological sciences.

We have spoken here of the development of culture and of structures created to permit the masses and the people to participate actively in cultural and artistic creation. We have also mentioned the work of creative people in literature, the plastic arts, music, and so on. [paragraph continues]

Still more important and, to a certain extent, a great accomplishment of our fatherland and of socialism in Romania is the fact we have ensured that conditions exist for the broad masses to play an active part in creating a new culture, a revolutionary-humanist culture that gives priority to man and his freedom, independence, and well-being.

Along with this, we have paid all due attention to social and urban construction in our fatherland. We have virtually rebuilt our towns completely. Today there is no town with a majority of dwellings not built in the past 20-25 years. All towns ensure good housing for all workers. What is more, we even have several counties that have asked us to reduce the number of apartments, for they no longer need new housing.

We have acted and continue to act to develop, build up, and reorganize villages. It is true that we have just begun, but our goal is to outline the centers of 558 future joint agroindustrial councils -- some of which are meant to become agroindustrial towns -- toward which the activity of all communies in each council's area should gravitate. Some comrades here discussed a commune in Timis County, but this is not an isolated case, as each county can boast of one or more communes with similar achievements. All this truly reflects a sense of concern about ensuring that our fatherland's towns and villages are reorganized and modernized -- along with the overall development of the forces of production and the economic, technical, and material base -- so as to create ever better housing and living conditions for the buiders of socialism.

We have greatly increased the number of schools, which fully meet educational requirements. In some localities we even have a surplus of classroom space, and have had to allocate building for other purposes. I do not consider this as a positive thing exactly. It shows that we have built a great deal, but there is also a negative side to it partly connected with an overconcentration of building in certain industrial centers. By organizing construction work throughout the country, including in the newly-created industrial centers, we arrest this trend, which seems to be a general one, not found solely in Romania. This trend is also a consequence of a certain reduction in the birth rate, a problem which, as you know quite well, we take very seriously. We are taking steps to ensure a higher birth rate of about 18-20 per 1,000 inhabitants so as to guarantee the people's further development.

We have built many hospitals. There is practically no county without modern hospitals. Romania today is among the countries with the highest number of hospital beds per 1,000 residents.

We have built many cultural centers, which I see as a very good thing -- cultural centers -- cultural houses and establishments, clubs, theaters, and other institutions -- which ensure a lasting material base for the development of broad cultural, artistic, and educational activity, including the "Song to Romania" national festival. Any visitor to our country can see the great achievements of the working people, regardless of nationality, and of the entire nation which, under the leadership of our Communist Party, is consciously building its own free, independent, socialist, and communist future. (loud and prolonged applause)

As there is much talk on an international plane, including in certain neighboring countries, about human rights, I would like to say -- as I have often said, at various international meetings for instance -- that the first concern of all states and governments should be with the promotion of socioeconomic life, science, education, and culture and with ensuring equal conditions for work, instruction, education, and access to culture for all.

One cannot speak of human rights with 30 million unemployed in several developed capitalist countries. It is indeed hard to give advice, talk about, or claim to be a defender of human rights when one fails to defend man's key right to work and education!

From this standpoint, we can say that we have acccomplishments which prove the correctness of our policy and of the socialist road of development in Romania and other countries.

We have implemented socialist principles of equal pay for equal work. As you are fully aware, remuneration in many countries differs according to natinality, sex, and age. Even in a number of developed capitalist countries -- on the basis of official data released by various bodies in those states -- the Blacks, for example, but other nationalities as well receive lower pay. That is to say nothing of the Mexicans who cross into the United Staes or even laborers in several European states, who went to work in developed capitalist countries and who, according to official data, received and continue to receive lower pay while doing the hardest work. Likewise, many countries, including developed capitalist ones, believe that women should receive lower pay. The same thing applies to the young.

We have ensured and continue to ensure truly equal pay, regardless of nationality, sex, or age, in accordance with the sector of activity and everyone's level of training. You are all familiar with our remuneration system, which compares favorably with any in the world, including those in many socialist countries. We have guaranteed that the principle of "equal pay for equal work" and the socialist principle of "no work without bread and no bread without work" are strictly applied.

It is true that, in our country, no one can live without working or at the expense of other people's work. I do not consider this a shortcoming, but rather as a great achievement of our society. We have established a 5 to 1 ratio between large and small incomes; 20 years ago we had a ratio of more than 20 to 1, something like 23 or 24 to 1.

We believe that we must firmly apply the principles of socialist ethics and equity by preserving certain distinctions. We were and are opposed to egalitarianism. But we are also against exaggerated differences regarding remuneration. In actual fact, depending on everyone's work, the pay can be larger or smaller.

You heard what the chairman of the Salonta cooperative farm had to say here. He obtained a production level of 22,000 kg of corn per hectare and the average income of his cooperative members amounted to more than 36,000 lei per person. We have many units -- recently we talked about them at the meeting with chairmen of joint agro-industrial councils -- which have had even larger yields, such as 25,000-28,000 kg of corn per hectare. We even have an entire county with an average production of 20,000 kg of corn per hectare. Of course, the incomes of cooperative farmers from units with 20,000 kg of corn per hectare or 3,000 kg corn per hectare differ substantially, both in kind and in money. However, all have the same rights and opportunities. There is no discriminatin in the basic premise of our remuneration system.

We also have miners that earn two monthly salaries because they have properly organized their team and work and produce twice as much coal. We retain the differential sysstem of material incentives proceeding from the principles of social equity and justice by encouraging those who obtain larger incomes through their work. However, we do not encourage and will never encourage the attainment of incomes without work or through the exploitation of the work of others. Such situations have vanished forever in Romania and I am convinced that such phenomena will never appear again in our country! (loud and prolonged applause)

There are countries where the political rights of women are limited. From a social standpoint, we have ensured full equality of rights in this field as well. Look at the large number of women present here; you are well aware of their presence in the party leadership, the Grand National Assembly, and all our society's management forums.

Therefore, if one talks about human and humanitarian rights, then we can assert with justified pride that in the years of socialism we have taken such steps and put such organizational forms into place so as to create conditions of full and equal rights for all citizens regardless of nationality, sex, or age! This is also the foundation of the scientific-socialist concept on the development of human society. We have acted and will continue to work firmly to implement these principles under optimum conditions! (loud and prolonged applause)

We have strongly developed democratic forms to run the entire society, beginning with working people's councils in all socioeconomic units and general meetings of working people in their capacity as owners, producers, and end-users, and their county-level bodies up to national congresses and national councils of working people. This includes workers of all nationalities, and in some cases workers represent between 30-40 percent and even more. All this, along with our state democratic bodies -- people's councils, the Congress of People's Councils, the Grand National Assembly, and other bodies -- represent a single whole ensuring a unique framework for the participation of all workers and the entire nation in running all fields of activity. We not only formulated the thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people, but also acted and did our best to give this thesis real content and ensure conscious participation by all our people in fulfilling our development programs, making all decisions, and drafting and applying domestic and foreign policy. We proceed from the fact that only to the extent that the people assume full responsibility and act in full awareness can we build the comprehensively developed socialist society and communism. Our people can have a golden future, to put it poetically, and we must create this golden future for our nation! (loud applause and cheers; chants: "Ceausescu and the People!", "Long Live Ceausescu, Romania May Flourish!", "Our Esteem and Pride, Ceausescu-Romania!", and "Ceausescu-RCP!")

In all our activity and achievements in this historic period, we have always worked from the basic principles of scientific-socialism and from the revolutionary materialistic, dialectical, and historical view of the world and life. We have always considered the objective laws and requirements of socioeconomic development. As I said recently, we have studied and now continuously study the experience and practice of socialist construction and of world economic development. At the same time, we have always proceeded, and this will continue, from the realities in our fatherland. We have acted and continue to act to apply all this to conditions prevailing in Romania, without copying anything, but rather by taking that which accords with the interests of our fatherland and finding ways and means to best ensure the participation of all the people in society's management and guarantee that they are truly the masters of everything achieved in our fatherland and of the fatherland itself!

It would be a good idea to mention that throughout this period of more than 20 years, when we improved leadership, beginning with the party, and we democratized life in general, we were often criticized openly -- or not so openly -- for so-called deviations from general experience and norms. I do not wish to say more now. However, we are satisfied that what we did proved to be right and in accordance with our people's interests, and that the problems of modernization, reforms, or whatever you may call it are issues in almost all socialist countries. You are familiar with all this.

It is good that everyone realizes now that socialism cannot be built according to certain patterns and that one cannot imitate what has been done at any given stage in one or another country. We particularly appreciate the many socialist countries' concerns over developing new forms of socialist democracy to ensure the participation of the masses and people in the management of society. From our own experience, we can say this is the only path which truly represents the socialist road of development. Only with the people and only by developing democratic forms in line with the realities of each country, which facilitate the people's participation and responsibility in managing society, can we ensure the victory of socialism and communism and assert their prestige throughout the world. (loud applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!" and "Ceausescu-Romania, Our Esteem and Pride!")

Esteemed comrades, the plenary meetings of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality discussed issues concerning the implementation of development programs and problems connected with certain negative phenomena, or better said, certain international activities carried out by some imperialist and most reactionary circles designed to slander our party-state policy. However, I must also say that much of the Western press stresses the great achievements of Socialist Romania.

We are not and were never worried by the fact that certain reactionary imperialist circles deliberately distort our people's accomplishments and activities. They are doing it to benefit their class interests.

However, it is incomprehensible to see such things appear in a socialist country. We do not necessarily demand they publish the achievements of Romania. However, we can make the minimal demand that they refrain from distorting the activities of our people and of the working people, under the leadership of the party, for promoting socioeconomic development and building the socialist and communist society.

Of course, one can go on at great length about historical problems. But can anyone change history? Can anyone change the fact that 2,500 years ago Herodotus characterized the Dacians, who inhabited these lands, including the territory of today's Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, as "the bravest and most just of the Thracians"? Obviously, there may be some who do not agree with Herodotus after 2,500 years! But it is hard for them to change what those who lived in those times saw and realized! Can one change history and the fact that Burebista created a centralized state, that Decebal developed it, and that the Dacians fought the Romans for hundreds of years until they were defeated? But without a civilization and a state organization valued by the prominent personalities of the time, they could not have done all this. Who would benefit from a denial of these realities? Does this not actually represent a policy which runs counter to any interests of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples who have lived together for a long time and must continue to do so?

Of course, no one can change the facts regarding the migration of the first Hungarian tribes and their settlement in the territory of today's Hungary, with part of that population also settling in Transylvania. But why should one mark this, a well-known historical fact, by negating the existence of another people, who have lived in these lands for more than 2,500 years and who did not go anywhere else but struggled to defend its lands and existence? Why should one negate a scientist -- according to some people, even a leader of Hungary in the 12th century -- who wrote the well-known work on the existence of a well-organized population in this territory? Why should one easily ignore things proven by science, such as archeological discoveries which, throughout the world, are the basis for the reconstruction of a historical period or historical events when there are no written documents? [paragraph continues]

Did the Romanian countries not fight and maintain their autonomy during the Ottoman occupation? It is a well-known fact that they were the only Balkan lands that maintained thier autonomy! When Mircea [Mircea the Old, Romanian voivode] defeated Baiazid [Baiazid, Turkish Sultan], did he possess an imaginary army? What about Stephen the Great? Or Michael the Brave, in whose armies many Szecklers also fought? Was even the joint struggle of Romanians and Hungarians against the Ottoman Empire an imaginary thing? Was Ioan of Hunedoara, who eventually became the leader of the Hungarian state, also an imaginary figure?

I feel, and have often said, that history should not accentuate negative states of affairs, but rather serve rapprochement and brotherhood among peoples. In many historical events -- I am referring in particular to more recent times -- the dominent classes from certain countries have played a certain role. But one should not emphasize certain negative moments at any given point in the history of relations between various states. On the contrary, one should break away from the policy of the former exploiting and dominant classes and proceed from the need to develop and achieve a new history of friendship and cooperation. Generally speaking, this is valid for Europe and the entire world, and for relations between Romania and Hungary in particular.

It is hard to understand the reprinting of certain Horthyist, fascist, chauvinist, even racist theses. How is it possible for an Academy of Sciences to give its endorsement to certain texts and works that offend other peoples? What kind of science is this? Who but the most reactionary imperialist circles benefits from such so-called science? There is no way such theses can serve friendship, cooperation, and socialism!

We favor exchanges of experience, but abhor any interference in the domestic affairs of other states. We have never tolerated such a thing under any circumstances, and will not tolerate it now or ever! The problems of Romania and of socialist construction will be solved by the entire Romanian people, in full unity, and by their leading force, the RCP! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!", "Ceausescu-RCP!", and "Our Esteem and Pride, Ceausescu, Romania!"]

We advocate a broad development of ties and have always worked and will continue to firmly act to expand relations with socialist countries, primarily our neighbors, among which we always include the Hungarian People's Republic. Moreover, we believe there are great opportunities for broadly developing relations of cooperation with socialist states. In this respect, our party leaders elaborated a number of proposals and measures, a summary of which was published in the Political Executive Committee meeting communque. We also wish to do this with our Hungarian neighbors. I believe this is in line with the interests of the two peoples and of socialist development in both countries. Any other way of handling issues and any attempt to distort the facts and present such distortions in certain international forums runs counter to the interests of both the Hungarian and Romanian peoples!

We have always distinguished and will continue to distinguish between certain ill-meaning individuals or groups of people from a given country and the people of that country. We have always believed that people must know the truth, but they must also be educated to realize that cooperation with other peoples, primarily one's neighbors, is in everyone's interest. We have many things in common -- even if the history book put out by the Hungarian Academy does not mention them -- which plead for such an approach and for such relations between our two countries and peoples.

How can we agree to expand the distrubtion of Hungarian press and literary materials in Romania when that press insults the working people in our country? Were we to accept such a thing, we would be doing a diservice. [paragaph continues]

The press, radio, television, other media, literature, and arts, must all serve a single goal: rapprochement, friendship, and education in the spirit of socialism and international solidarity. Any other interpretation and approach is contrary to the peoples' interests yesterday, and tomorrow!

The first slogan of scientific socialism was "Workers of the world, unite!" You all know what Marx and Engles went on to say. We speak out for a new handling of this issue, namely, the solidarity and unity of the masses and peoples, not only of the proletariat, as we live in another age. We must work to unite the peoples in the struggle for socialism, disarmament, and peace in the world!

I believe our press and media should tackle issues in this way. I hope our Hungarian neighbors will realize it is time to stop such a state of affairs and such manifestations and steps will also be taken along the road of friendship and cooperation. As far as we are concerned, I would like to state here, but I also say this for all our people, that we are firmly determined to do our best to make use of what is valuable in our common past -- we will do this with all socialist countries and all peoples in the world -- to develop cooperation and friendship and ensure the development of each people and the greater well-being of each nation, for peace throughout the world! (loud and prolonged applause)

Dear comrades, I would like to return to certain topical issues of our party's and people's activity. The 1986-90 5-Year Plan and other adopted programs give priority to strongly expanding the forces of production, moving on to a new stage in our development, attaining an intensive development of industry, agriculture, and other sectors, and basing all our activity on the latest achievements of science, the overall scientific-technical revolution, and the agrarian revolution. We must achieve a new degree of quality. Last year we adopted a number of programs on the modernization and proper organization of all sectors. This year and in the coming years, we must implement all these programs efficiently. We have adopted programs on applying the new economic-financial mechanism and economic-financial norms and unflinchingly implementing workers self-management and self-financing in all fields.

All working people, enterprises, and sectors activity must raise the quality and technological level of production. We must realize that our society is at a stage of development in which the problems of quality and technology are decisive for our further progress.

We must resolutely work to reduce material consumption, and to recover and reuse energy and other materials. This year we faced certain problems concerning energy. We discussed the causes of these shortcomings and delays in the commissioning of energy units last year. Last fall and in the first two months of this year we obtained 1,000 MWH less of electric power from the Danube and inner waterways due to the draught that has affected Europe as a whole. The loss of 1,000 MHW, 12 percent of our energy, has caused us difficulty. One should also add to this our failure to establish and proceed as of 1 December to the winter regime for organizing economic activities. Many people continued to consume regardless of realities, and many preferred to affect production rather than make savings in nonproductive areas. Only in the ministries, institutions, and certain activities from the so-called special sectors did we reduce energy consumption by 400 MWH through the measures adopted by decree and through cutbacks in nonproduction consumption in enterprises. Because of this, we were able to increase the quantity of energy allocated for production. Of course, the way to meet energy requirements this year is primarily linked to implementing our programs on commissioning energy capacities and our first nuclear power plant. However, regardless of the energy that will be available to us, reductions in consumption and the saving of fuels, energy, and materials remain the key issues of our entire activity, something which must be properly understood by everyone everywhere!

We must pay greater attention to raising productivity, by unswervingly implementing the programs for the scientific modernization and organization of production and work.

This year we must pay particular attention to the problems of economic efficiency and profitability, by firmly applying the new economic mechanism, self-management, self-financing, and the program on economic-financial norms.

A key problem is and will continue to be the activity of international exchanges, foreign trade, and production sharing with socialist countries, the developed capitalist states, and all countries, regardless of social system.

As you well know, we have very different and broad forms of cooperation. The law on joint companies dates back to 1975. It is true that we did not achieve too much! We have several joint companies, including an important one which is not doing too well. Other companies doing better play such a minor role that they have little impact on our overall activity. Of course, when we drafted this law, we meant to create conditions, and indeed we have done so, for setting up joint companies with socialist, capitalist and developing countries. We will continue to act in the spirit of our laws, proceeding from the interests of the national economy. Regardless of who our partner in such companies may be, the Romanian property or part of the enterprise in question belongs to the people and must make profits only for the people. We wish, and we will take energetic action in this respect, to fulfill all cooperation programs, long-term agreements, and other cooperative ventures in science, technology, and elsewhere. As I have often said, the development and implementation of our programs is inconceivable without a broad international economic cooperation, starting with socialist countries, but, I repeat, with all states, too, regardless of their social system.

In view of the current stage of our development, and by taking account of the latest achievements of science and technology, all enterprises and party-state organizations in all fields must attach importance to the problems of professional and technical training and the recycling of cadres. We must strongly raise the people's professional and scientific-technological level! We must always bear in mind the continuous changes occurring in technology and science, which requires us to recycle cadres and refresh their knowledge. This is a key issue in the overall development of our fatherland. These problems are common to all working people, regardless of nationality, and everyone in his field must work to contribute to their resolution!

We must fully understand that the achievement of the homeland's overall development plans and objectives into the nineties, and in the future, as far as the year 2000, is possible only through the united work and activity of the entire nation. This is the only way to create the necessary conditions for participation, access to the marvelous discoveries of science and technology and culture in general, and to raise the level of the people's overall material and cultural well-being. It is the supreme goal of party policy, the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania. (loud, prolonged applause).

I have mentioned it several times, but I feel it is necessary to repeat it again: We have never accomplished anything without work. Everything we have done has required -- sometimes great -- human and material effort. We have not gotten anything free, everything has been the result of the work and effort of a united nation. The future of our nation, socialism, and communism can come only through the united work of all our people, led by our Communist Party! (loud applause; prolonged chants of "We Will Work and We Will Fight, the Country We Will Elevate!", "Our Esteem and Pride, Ceausescu-Romania!", "Ceausescu-RCP!", and "Ceausescu and the People!")

We must strongly develop a revolutionary spirit in work and in all fields, starting from our own experience, reality, and general truths. We cannot build a new system without constant action against all things old and outdated and without the bold and unceasing promotion of all things new in every field.

We must firmly apply the principles of socialist remuneration -- which we have discussed -- in all our activities, and we must always observe the principles of socialist ethics and equity. As I have already mentioned, differentiation between established incomes for various sectors must be the basis of socialist relations. It is from this fact that we should start our firm application of the principles of remuneration -- the overall contract system and the piecework system -- in every walk of life. Higher incomes in any given sector can and must be attained only in accordance with the results of the work that has been done! No one can live without work or by exploiting the work of others! Under no circumstances do we encourage ways that can lead to the strengthening of any forms of capitalist ownership -- even small ones.

We believe we have the responsibility, and must do all we can to ceaselessly strengthen the property of all our people, as it is the basis of the homeland's comprehensive development and ensures the general welfare. Only on the basis of socialist ownership can we guarantee full equality of rights and true workers' revolutionary democracy. There is no equality between oppressors and oppressed, or between slaves and masters, as they were called in the past! There is no democracy between oppressors and oppressed! Only when the workers own the means of production can there be true equality and true socialist democracy!

This is the foundation for developing our system and ensuring the victory of socialism in our homeland! (loud, prolonged applause)

We will keep on working and perfecting the management and planning of our economy, starting with the uninterrupted improvement of the work of democratic bodies and ensuring the best conditions for the participation of all people in the management of every sector.

Life and experience have shown the party's leading and decisive role in all areas of activity. Thus, we are determined to act most firmly to continuously perfect our party's work, to increase the responsibility of each party organization and party body everywhere, to strengthen ties with the masses, and to unite the efforts of the entire nation in the overall development of our homeland.

We will continue to work in this direction and we must permanently strengthen the unity of all working people, regardless of nationality, and of our entire nation within the Socialist Unity and Democracy Front, under the leadership of the RCP -- the sure way to guarantee that our objectives for socioeconomic development are attained and to make equality and our homeland's freedom and independence a certainty. (loud applause, prolonged chants of "Ceausescu, Romania -- Our Esteem and Pride!", "Ceausescu and the people!", and "Ceausescu-RCP!")

In all our activity we focus on the unflinching implementation of our wonderful development programs. We must pay greater attention to the political and ideological activity of educating and shaping the revolutionary awareness of the new man, the conscious builder of socialism and communism.

We must take a firm and intransigent stand and combat all reactionary ideas, chauvinism, and nationalism in any form it may take. We must strongly develop and educate our people and our youth in the spirit of revolutionary humanism and of brotherhood among all working people and nations, in the spirit of international solidarity and the struggle for world peace and progress!

All our activity must be founded upon the revolutionary concepts of scientific socialism, on dialectical and historical materialism, and on everything that is new in the fields of science, technology, and human knowledge in general. We must never forget -- and always bear in mind -- that the great changes which have taken place and are taking place in the overall development of society, in science, and in the need to expand the horizon of man's knowledge require a new approach to many things. These changes do not disprove the precepts of scientific socialism. On the contrary they confirm the correctness of the material-dialectical view of the world and life. However, the horizon of knowledge requires additions to all theses and a modification of some old ones, which must be replaced. All these -- I stress -- only confirm that the materialist-dialectical view of the world and life is correct. It is a concept which starts from the fact that there is nothing that cannot be learned, that there are only things unknown, and that mankind will always open up newer and newer horizons for knowledge. It is on this basis that mankind must enrich its philosophical and ideological notions, the practice of revolutionary struggle and socioeconomic practice. Only by working in this way are we acting as true revolutionaries! Only in this manner will we be able to ensure the best conditions for developing socialism in our homeland and contribute to the general development of science and the wonderful revolutionary ideas and concepts of socialism throughout the world! (loud prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the People!", and "Ceausescu, Romania -- Our Esteem and Pride!")

We have great programs for the future regarding the country's development in the current 5-year plan period and up to the year 2000. Everything we have accomplished is a guarantee for fulfilling all these objectives, the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, and the plan for the construction of a comprehensively developed socialist society that will make the country's advance toward communism a certainty.

We must think, study, and find the best forms to meet these objectives in organizaing our society in every area, thus ensuring equal living and working conditions for all, a manifestation of the human personality, the principles of social justice and equity, and Romania's firm progress toward communism! Only in this way will we discharge our duty to the people, to socialism, and to communism! Only in this way will we deserve the name of revolutionaries and communists! (applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu, Heroism -- Romania, Communism!")

Dear comrades, I intended to touch on some international issues, but I think the policy Romania promotes regarding international realities, as well as the struggle for disarmament, peace, and a better and more just world, is well known.

International events continue to be most serious. The stocks of nuclear arms continued to grow, and nuclear tests, which pose a great danger to the environment, go on.

We all remember the serious consequences of the Chernobyl accident and the way in which it affected the whole of Europe, including our country. This serious accident proved -- as if it still needed to be proved -- what a great danger nuclear power is when it gets out of control. It cannot be directed and controlled by anyone!

We hailed the fact that the Soviet leadership came up with new ideas and a new way of approaching the question of nuclear weapons, that is, that nuclear weapons cannot be used, as their use means the destruction not only of civilization, but of conditions for the very existence of life on our planet.

As you well know, we have often stated that we must put a halt to nuclear weapons and take actions to ensure the people's vital right to exist, to live. This is the basic issue of our times! There is no longer any question of victor and vanquished in a nuclear war! [paragraph continues]

The issue today is one of preventing the destruction of life on our planet and ensuring the survival of nations, of people. That is why the fight against nuclear weapons and the need to halt all nuclear arms must be the center of our work and will always be the core of the activity of our party and state.

We will have to act and strengthen solidarity and cooperation among all nations and countries of the world to halt the arms race and nuclear tests, to eliminate medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe, and proceed to the eradication of all nuclear weapons in the world.

Likewise, we speak out for conventional disarmament and have already taken unilateral actions in this area.

Generally, we come out in favor of a new approach to relations among all nations of the world so as to engineer the complete elimination of the use and threat of force and of interference in the affairs of other countries. We believe that no effort should be spared to contribute to the solution of all these fundamental issues, which concern the whole of mankind today.

I will not refer to any other aspect of the international situation. I have just mentioned the danger posed by nuclear weapons, for they are today the major issue for all mankind -- including our own people -- and we must do all we can to ensure the existence of the world, of nations, and of people! This is the leading problem before all humanity!

We are firmly determined to continue our work and to contribute to the settlement of all problems in accordance with the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs.

We firmly believe that nations have the necessary power -- by acting with greater and stronger unity -- to change the international situation, to guarantee the triumph of peace and reason, and to bring about a better and more just world! (loud cheers and applause; chants of "Ceausescu-Peace!", "Disarmament-Peace!", and "Ceausescu-Romania, Peace and Friendship!")

In conclusion, I would like to express my belief that the discussions which took place at the plenary meetings of the Hungarian and German Nationality Working People's Councils, discussions that focused primarily on the development of our homeland, the fulfillment of programs for this year and for the entire period covered by the 5-year plan, as well as positions taken on some issues of more general relations, will contribute to a better understanding of the need to improve and perfect all our activity and will make working people, regardless of nationality, and our entire nation work in a way that will see us conclude the year with ever greater results.

I voice my belief that each person present here will act -- in his collective and in his field of work -- in the general spirit of our socioeconomic plans and programs, of our party's domestic and foreign policy, and our party's scientific and ideological policy.

With this belief, I wish you success in all your work! I wish the collectives of working people among whom you carry out your activity and all working people in our homeland much health and happiness! (loud and prolonged cheers and applause; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the People!", and "Ceausescu, Romania -- Our Esteem and Pride!") In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and of strong unity around the party, all those present in the hall rise and cheer for minutes on end for the RCP and for the party secretary general, the president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu!

GORBACHEV PROPOSAL ASSESSED AS 'SIGNIFICANT'

LD051510 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1406 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Belgrade, March 5 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia assesses the latest proposal of Soviet party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev as a timely and significant step toward an early and separate agreement on eliminating all Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles from Europe, Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Aleksandr Stanic set out.

Stanic told a news conference in Belgrade today that a U.S. Soviet agreement would in itself be a significant contribution to easing of international tensions, strengthening security in Europe and the world.

Such an agreement could be a turn toward reaching other, very much needed, agreements on reduction and control of other categories of weapons, on which talks are under way, in particular the nuclear, strategic, offensive and chemical arms, as well as the reduction in conventional weaponry, banning militarization of outer space and a complete halt to nuclear tests.

Yugoslavia is convinced that the two sides should use the offered chances, in their own and in the general interest.

Such a development, as Stanic set out, would be the true answer to the appeal of non-aligned countries to the great power to join the concrete measures pertaining to disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, made at the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit in Harare last September.

BELGRADE COMMENTS ON DISARMAMENT PROPOSAL

AU052034 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Branislav Canak commentary]

[Text] The new Soviet approach to disarmament talks is very important at this moment, because it ends a period in which one could untie this tangled knot only by cutting it with a sword; that is, through a further cooling of relations and a new level of confrontation. Seen in the context of basic characteristics of recent Soviet foreign policy, this is another initiative from the peace package of Moscow's negotiating proposals. It is obvious that in this special type of offensive, one does not even let the other side catch its breath as shown in the following example: Immediately after the proposal of a moratorium on nuclear tests (?was finished), Mikhail Gorbachev presented the latest proposal -- the one on medium-range missiles. However, what seems to be really new is that, unlike the Reykjavik proposal, the question of medium-range mssiles is now separated from the overall disarmament problem as an independent question. Let us remember that in both Geneva and Reykjavik, Soviet negotiators linked the package called START -- that is, talks on strategic arms limitation, including medium-range missiles -- with the question of space weapons. The U.S. side rejected this repeatedly, sticking to its position of developing its Strategic Defense Initiative space program.

According to Moscow's latest proposal, which was also officially presented at the Geneva negotiations, the issue of medium-range missiles is not considered a problem within the framework of START, and therefore, it seems, is not conditional on talks covering the U.S. space weapons program.

However, it is a fact that when he offered this proposal at the end of last month, Gorbachev kept a certain something in reserve as well. Namely, he pointed out at the end of his speech, and we quote: It goes without saying that conclusion of an agreement on withdrawing medium-range missiles is conditional on the ban on space militarization.

By the way, Washington hails the new Soviet proposal as a contribution to cutting the Gordian knot and as a step forward, with the inevitable "but" containing virtually all past reservations in assessing the outcome. Individual congressmen with vast foreign policy experience believe that the question of missile-withdrawal verification, for instance, will be a very difficult problem to solve. When one adds to this the firmly established view that cruise and Pershing missiles are the best counterbalance to a large Soviet superiority in conventional arms in Europe, then the following question immediately comes to mind: How is one to arrive at a solution even to this proposal?

Despite those dilemmas and fears concerning Soviet conventional superiority stirred up by Western European conservatives, the old continent has almost unanimously hailed the Soviet proposal. This European mood is for now the only significant political point the Soviet Union achieved with its proposal. Judging by all facts, the cutting of the Gordian knot of disarmament is a job still to be done, but, of course, by no means with a sword.

RAIF DIZDAREVIC PLANS TO VISIT VENEZUELA

LD032020 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1322 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Raif Dizdarevic is to pay an official and friendly visit to Venezuela prior to the non-aligned countries coordinating bureau special ministerial meeting to be held [10-12 March] in Georgetown, it was announced here today.

The visit will enable discussions on development and promotion of bilateral cooperation between the two countries, especially in the economic area, for which objective possibilities and mutual interest exist. Also, as announced, views on the most topical international questions will be exchanged.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPOKESMAN GIVES NEWS CONFERENCE

Debts 'Most Acute' Problem

LD051516 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1358 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Belgrade, March 5 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia considers the debt problem the most acute of contemporary international economic relations, said Foreign Affairs Secretariat Spokesman Aleksandar Stanic in Belgrade today.

Speaking at the regular press conference in Federal Secretariat, Stanic said the burden of debt payments represents not only a gross form of exploitation but hindered the debtor countries' development -- without which it was impossible to imagine how they could meet their commitments.

In view of the situation, Stanic said, the non-aligned countries and Yugoslavia consider that political cooperation between debtors and creditors is necessary. Cooperation through which changes in conditions of servicing and repaying debts would be effected in order to ensure the development of the debtors.

Aleksandar Stanic further set out that Yugoslavia had "full understanding" for Brazil's decision to temporarily suspend the payment of interest on its foreign debt and added that such a stand taken by the world's largest debtor would contribute to a better understanding of the importance and complexity of the debt problem as a global, financial, economic and political problem.

The Yugoslav foreign secretariat spokesman recalled that a number of other debtor countries face the same situation as Brazil.

Mideast Forum Urged

LD051433 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1255 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Belgrade, March 5 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia views that an international conference on the Middle East is the most suitable framework for achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle-Eastern problem, Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Aleksander Stanic set out today.

Stanic told a regular press conference in Belgrade that Yugoslavia urges creating a favourable political climate and conditions for convening the conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all interested sides, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Stanic recalled that this stand is being shared by the movement of Non-Aligned summit in Harare last September.

LCY IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSION PREPARES FOR PLENUM

LD051511 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Text] Belgrade, March 4 (TANJUG) -- We have carried through a party debate on activities of the bourgeois right in Yugoslav society, but not the one on implementation of the economic stabilization programme; it was stated at today's session of the LCY Central Committee's Commission on Ideological Matters which discussed preparations for the so-called "ideological plenum" of the Central Committee.

Neither the forthcoming plenum, nor the ideological action as a whole will succeed if they are reduced exclusively to identification of the hostile tendencies, speakers in the debate said. "The opposition is gaining in strength because little is being done to overcome the crisis," they pointed out.

"Our revolution is passing through difficult times," said chairman of the commission Radovan Radonjic, noting that the League of Communists had also contributed to the crisis "because it is doing too little for change of the existing situation." In his assessment, socialist selfmanagement in Yugoslavia is also stagnating, and this at a time when "even its bitterest opponents abroad are readily turning to it as a truly great alternative of our epoch."

Radonjic recalled the recent "counter-revolutionary right-wing manifestations" -- the draft memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the attempt to set up the so-called Solidarity Fund, the recent nationalistic attempt disguised as a "national programme" by a group of intellectuals in Slovenia, the latest affair with the Youth Day relay in that republic, and others -- and described them as a "serious warning." But he added that the counter-revolutionary manifestations taking place in the production relationship were even graver and more dangerous.

Professor Fuad Muhic, of the University of Sarajevo, calling for a clarification of individual terms and elimination of theoretical confusion, said that the bourgeois right "was produced by the party right." In his assessment, the struggle against antisocialist forces "must be an introduction to the further democratization of our society."

"The need for introducing repressive measure as the only effective method arises logically...due to our inefficiency in eliminating the causes of antisocialist tendencies," stated Executive Secretary in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidencey Boris Muzevic. This method however is unjustified, he said, because the party has on its side "enough intellectual and political potentials" to define and use successfully the "right methods of the contest of ideas."

Views Kosovo Development

LD042129 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 4 Mar 87

[Excerpts] Urosevac, 4 Mar (TANJUG) -- The further development of Kosovo Province must be founded on introducing modern technology, without which there can be no progress. The province must be more aggressive in this. Likewise, without more effective realization of investment, without pooling labor and resources of income-based relations and a sufficient number of capable cadres the province cannot develop more rapidly.

This was stated in talks with leading figures and economists from Urosevac today by FEC President Branko Mikulic who visited several collectives there together with Desimir Jevtic, president of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, and Nazmi Mustafa, president of the Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly. [passage omitted]

In his talks with top officials in the Urosevac municipality and economy, FEC President Branko Mikulic noted that the municipality is too large (population 140,000) and that, under the circumstances it is impossible to put the self-managing rights of its inhabitants into practice.

Turning to the fact that the Urosevac Bank is also in trouble, Mikulic stressed that there should be a more concrete examination for the possibilities of reorganizing banks at the national level. We cannot delay bank reorganizations much longer if commercial banking is to keep up with the economy. Last year our law on this fell through, but this was not a great tragedy since efficient commercial banking must be realized primarily through the economy's influence itself, said Mikulic.

The FEC president then warned that this year economic activity will be even more difficult but that it will, as a result, be much healthier. We are achieving this in part with laws passed in December and will achieve it in part by adopting a dozen more laws which should put Yugoslavia solidly on the road to a realistic economy.

Attempts to turn income-based relations into credit relations are not in keeping with the LCY policy on Kosovo's rapid development and does not agree with conclusions of the 13th LCY Congress on its progress. This is also true for the relocation of production, which has not prospered in other environments. What is needed here are programs that will facilitate development in the province, said Mikulic. Kosovo also needs cadres who have acquired the highest education in the country. This does not mean that they should not be educated at Pristina University, but a certain number of young people should be educated at facilities offering the best opportunities to acquire knowledge. Likewise, the remuneration of good cadres should even be encouraged to create a favorable social climate that will attract them here. The same thing applies to the provision of apartments for cadres, Mikulic addressed, and suggested greater orientation toward small businesses and their development in the province.

Branko Mikulic finally discussed the province's political situation and in this connection stressed that there must be a strong reaction to any show of nationalism and any form of violence against people. We must, on the other hand, persistently nurture coexistence and fraternal relations, and water them like flowers. It is essential to live together from children's nurseries, through schools, to factories, and all other forms of association, and not isolate ourselves in ghettos, Branko Mikulic stressed.

FEC Discusses Kosovo Talks

LD051851 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 5 Mar 87 (TANJUG) -- At its session today, chaired by Janez Zemljaric, the FEC was briefed on yesterday's visit to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and talks held in the Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly by FEC President Branko Mikulic and Desimir Jevtic, president of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly. It was concluded that according to yesterday's agreement on continuing intensive cooperation of federal, republican, and provincial organs with programs and measures for overcoming the province's serious economic problems, the competent federal organs should immediately take all necessary measures within their competence.

The session also assessed last year's tourist season and examined a program of measures for supporting development of tourism this year. Last year there were 11.1 million overnight stays, which is 1.8 percent more than in 1985. Of this total, 51.4 million overnight stays involved foreign tourists, which is 1.1 percent higher than the previous year. Spending by foreign tourists amounted to about $2 billion. Foreign currency earnings from tourism amounted to $1,377 million.

Foreign currency earnings from tourism this year are planned to total $1,605 million. [passage omitted]

The FEC also examined the state of protection from ionized radiation and other security and safety issues relating to nuclear energy. In this connection, the federal, republican, and provincial organs were asked to take specific measures to further improve this protection.

HASANI SPEAKS IN PRISTINA ON ALBANIAN ISSUES

AU050850 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 1 Mar pp 1,6,7

[C. Bajrami, M. Emerllahu report on meeting held in the Rilindja Publishing House in Pristina on 28 February to introduce the Albanian-language version of the book "Kosovo: Truth and Deception" written by Sinan Hasani, president of the SFRY Presidency, and attended by Sinan Hasani and Azem Vlasi, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee: "A Contribution to the Illumination of a Complex Period"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Sinan Hasani: The People -- Roots of the Liberation Movement [subhead]

In his speech at the book's introduction Sinan Hasani said: I thank you for the general presentation of "Kosovo: Truth and Deception" by the Chief Editor of RILINDJA, Nazmi Rrahmani, and Rrahman Dedaj, one of the book's editors, and for judgments on the work made by Milan Seslija and Azem Vlasi. On this occasion I will dwell on only one aspect of the book, which is more or less present on most of its pages: This is the well known principle that "two peoples" exist within every people, and that two cultures exist within every culture.

In the contemporary history of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia and in all the nation's years of change, the Albanian nationality in Kosovo and Yugoslavia has for the most part stood on the side of positive tendencies in social movements. During the National Liberation War, and at Yugoslavia's final liberation, tens of thousands of volunteers and those in military service were among the ranks of the national liberation army and the partisans of Yugoslavia. That the several thousand Ballists [members of the Albanian "Balli Kombetar" or "National Front"] did not enjoy the people's support is shown by the fact that they were nearly liquidated within a period of 2 years. At the same time, our movement put down deep roots among the people and became the only force leading them on the sure road toward socialism. From year to year, in every key event, the majority of Albanians proved their attitude toward our movement. They showed this attitude by voting for the Constitutional Assembly of new Yugoslavia. it is well known that only a few months after liberation, the Provincial Council of Kosovo-Metohija decided unanimously join the Yugoslav Federal Republic of Serbia.

The people of Kosovo, and among them the majority of Albanians, firmly rejected and condemned the famous brutal attack of Stalin and the Cominform against Yugoslavia and Tito. They gave total support to Tito's independent policy. Only a relatively small number, an extrmely small proportion, even in comparison with circumstances in other areas of the country, supported the Cominform resolution, something which at that time was pure treachery.

Massive Program for Comprehensive Transformation [subhead]

The peoples and nationalities of Kosovo, like the whole of our country, and the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia accepted the development of workers' self-management with great enthusiasm. In introducing this system to every sphere of life, they began a determined struggle not only against those who served Albanian and other Cominform agents, or various military circles in the West, but also embarked on a massive program for eliminating illiteracy, for schooling children and young people, against the veiling of women, against conservatism and various forms of primitivism, for the transformation of the countryside, and for protecting the health of the people.

They determinedly embarked on a struggle for progress in agriculture, for the construction of new factories and mines, the construction of a road network, the building and restoration of towns, the development of social and political life, and the consolidation of people's power -- and thus for the development of socialist democracy through the development and consolidation of the Yugoslav federation. In our social-political conditions we are, alas, confronted with bureaucratic-statist forces, with signs and symptoms of nationalism and with the phenomenon of organized hostile activity which has reached the stage of demonstrations, particularly those of 1981. Working people from the ranks of the Albanians threw themselves into an unstinting struggle against several thousand separatist nationalist elements and undertook vigorous measures to prevent their hostile activity.

It is therefore perfectly clear why Albanian nationalists and irredentists, who at every historical turning point have aggressively opposed the Albanian majority in the struggle for socialism, are rightly considered renegades and traitors. Their cruel and brutal nationalist excesses against members of other peoples, especially Serbs and Montenegrins, which have often led to their emigration from Kosovo, have caused grave offense among broad masses of the Albanian people, who find such incidents revolting, as they always have in the past.

Cooperation with Albania -- On an Equal Basis [subhead]

Facts show that these nationalist and separatist attacks, and other hostile demands such as the "Kosovo -- Republic" slogan, are not only supported but are often inspired by hostile forces in Albania, by forces who do no good to the people of Albania, and still less for Albanians in Yugoslavia. There they still insist on a kind of paternalism toward Kosovo, which the Albanian nationality in Kosovo and Yugoslavia not only does not need, but rejects as excessive and unacceptable supervision.

The Albanians in Yugoslavia did not ask anyone for advice in 1941, when they were included in the revolution at the invitation of the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee and of Comrade Tito, and in this way declared they would live within socialist Yugoslavia. Nor did they ask advice in 1945, when they decided Kosovo would be incorporated in the SR of Serbia. Nor did they ask Enver Hoxha when they firmly rejected and condemned the Stalinist and Cominform attacks. Nor did they ask anyone when they decided upon socialist self-management, the federal order of Yugoslavia, and the position of the autonomous provinces as constituent parts of the federation. The Albanians in Kosovo know well that only through the strength of socialist Yugoslavia, which at the same time is also their own achievement, can they preserve their own national interests, the interests of their own working class, and their freedom from attacks not only of reactionary forces still not reconciled to the revolution, but also from those in the world who strive to kindle crisis and war everywhere, including in Yugoslavia. We have paid dearly for this principle. At one time in the not-so-distant past, quite a varied program of cooperation existed between Yugoslavia and Albania, especially in the cultural and economic spheres, and we were also pointing toward a common interest in the defense of our region. Even if we wished to, we could not avoid the need for the best possible cooperation between our two countries. However, under the terms of such cooperation the Albanian nationality in Kosovo cannot under any circumstances behave in a subservient and servile fashion toward its so-called mother. On the contrary, priding itself on its history and upon the reality which it has constructed along with its Yugoslav fellow-combatants, the Albanian nationality quite rightly demands equal cooperation in every way.

For a Critical and Objective Attitude Toward Values [subhead]

As you see, in the first place I have concentrated on the conflicts which surfaced in the Albanian nationality in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, especially in the eighties. Of course, in this book I have also spoken about other forms of nationalism which were aroused in this period, not only in our province, but elsewhere in the country. It is obvious that there has been no shortage of Serb, Montenegrin, and Macedonian nationalism. These have recently been most evident with the appearance of the so-called bourgeois right and nationalist elements in many areas of Yugoslav life: from the presentation of the "Memorandum" of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the so-called "Solidarity Fund," and the "Slovene National Program," down to Islamic fundamentalism.

While writing "Kosovo: Truth and Deception," one could see the fact that many events in Albanian history have been glorified. Also, in examining various themes in culture and art, many half-truths were expressed, leading to mistaken conclusions regarding intellectual interpretations and experiences. The publication of such half-truths in our academic, artistic, and educational literature is a way of introducing Albanian nationalist indoctrination, something which has found negative expression in the awareness of some young people. It often awakens a sense of historical injustice, leading to a rejection of our system or a feeling of the need to change it through nationalist and separatist action. Everyone who deals with historical and sociological movements must struggle for the most objective kind of truth. Alas, among our ranks and even in our highest academic institutions, there are those who still remain silent about such problems. When I mention this problem, I am of course primarily thinking of a number of intellectual and academic workers, and a number in education and the media who, in my opinion, are not making a proper effort to point up questions posed to us by Albanian nationalism and irredentism. One may ask why they sit idly by. They are aware of these problems because if they were not they would not gain high academic titles. I think that some individuals lack the courage for a thorough purge of all these negative aspects evident in our creative lives. I remember the popular saying that making a mistake is a lesser sin than not wanting to admit a mistake. Can someone be a scientist who is not just as critical toward himself as toward other people and the material he works with? In my opinion, a critical attitude toward your own work is a virtue, and not a sign of failure.

The Book to be Published in English Too [subhead]

In conclusion, I would like to express my thanks once again, and also my pleasure in finding a large number of my comrades and friends taking part in this solemn ceremony, adding to the joy which cannot be hidden on such occasions. I say joy, because the book we are discussing was published a year ago in Serbo-Croatian by The Center for Information and Publicity in Zagreb, in an edition of 12,000 copies, and is published today by Rilindja in Albanian in an edition of 2,000 copies. The book is also now being published in an abridged version by the Military Publishing and Press Center in Belgrade in Serbo-Croatian, in an edition of 5,000 copies. This leaflet will also come out soon in Albanian. Substantial portions of the book have also appeared in the pages of our leading Serbo-Croatian, Albanian, and Slovene papers. Some excerpts have also appeared in foreign languages, and preparations are under way for the book to be published in English, Sinan Hasani said in conclusion, thanking everybody once again. [passage omitted]

TANJUG ON ALBANIA'S 'TERRITORIAL PRETENSIONS'

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[Text] Belgrade, March 5 (TANJUG) -- Yet another map of greater Albania has appeared in New York. The map is published by the so-called "Association of Kosovars," an Albanian emigre organization.

The fact that it is not merely a question of the inclusion of areas inhabited by members of the Albanian nationality is shown by the explanation provided with the map that these are territories with three and a half million inhabitants which have allegedly been "occupied by Yugoslavia." The map drawn by the "Association of Kosovars" has not appeared in New York by chance, the aim of the authors in fact has been to distribute it at the U.N. headquarters.

The inspiration for the Albanian emigre organization's undertaking comes from Tirana. Although Albanian premier Adil Carcani when forming his government for the third time stated last month that his country based cooperation with its neighbours on respect for territorial integrity, on a previous occasion, the official organ ZERI I POPULLIT characterized Yugoslav statements that Albania has not abandoned its teritorial pretensions towards Yugoslavia as "insinuations," pointing out that "neither direct nor indirect grounds existed" to prove the statements. Furthermore, an officially authorized "encyclopedia has been published in Albania which includes Yugoslav territories which, as cited, "historically belonging to Albania." [quotation marks as received]

In this way, the encyclopedia, contrary to Tirana's official claims, has included in Albania the entire Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo, in which besides Albanians, Serbsand Montenegrins have lived for centuries, a large part of the Republic of Macedonia extending to the border witdh Greece and most of the Republic of Montenegro which borders on Albania.

The encyclopedia points out that the large areas which "belong to Albania" were "occupied by Serbs and Montenegrins" and that Albanians have been driven out of many regions.

Tirana's long-standing practice of marking off areas as its own negates the internationally recognized Yugoslav-Albanian border. The border is described in the latest Albanian books, documents and magazine articles as imposed, unjust, temporary and at the best political.

Various albums on Kosovo have been published in Tirana which in no way recall that the province is part of Yugoslavia. Albania's territorial pretensions are set out in textbooks for elementary schools and a series of stamps and postcards presents views of Yugoslav towns as Albanian.

The latest map by the "Association of Kosovars" covers only the areas of Yugoslavia officially claimed as "Albanian" by Tirana.

Official Tirana's conduct only confirms that its refusal to adhere to the decisions of the Helsinki document on the immutability of the borders of European states is in fact a wish to maintain the right to act freely in its attempts to change its borders at the expense of neighbouring countries, which its relations towards Yugoslavia openly confirm.